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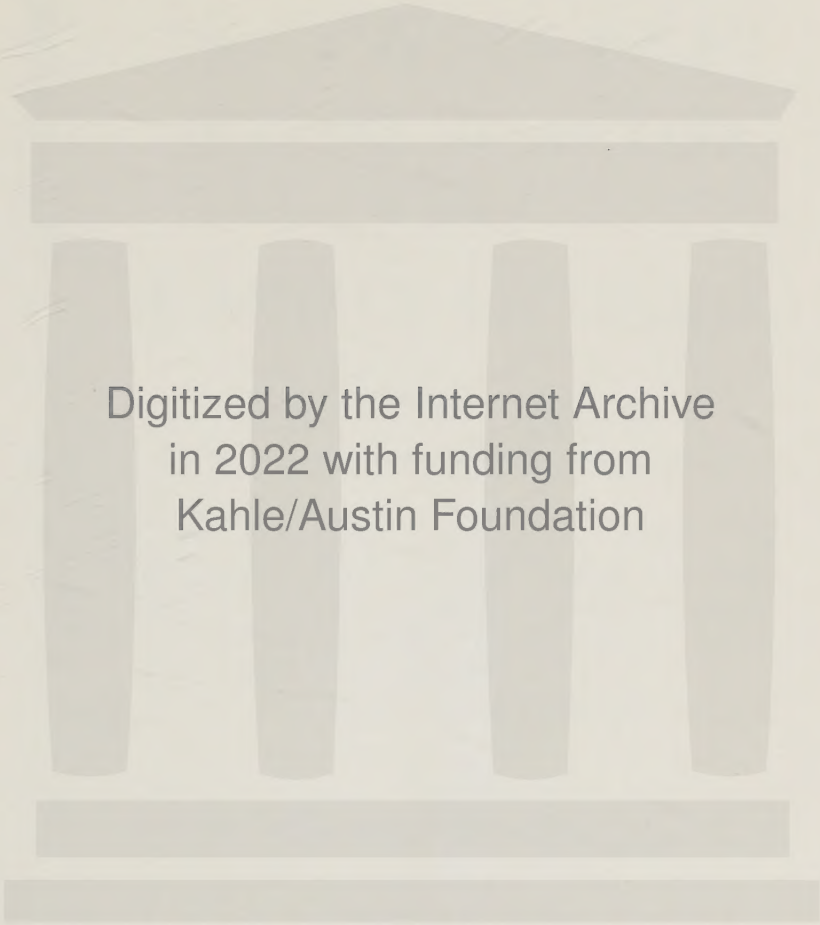

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ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

MR. *PHILLIPS*'S

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL *POLE*.

BY TIMOTHY NEVE, D.D.
Rector of *Middleton-Stoney*, *Oxfordshire*.

Nescimus, quo pacto ab initio rerum ita vidimus semper fieri, ut quotiescunque Deus quasi accenderet, & hominibus patefaceret veritatem suam, quamvis ea non tantum antiquissima, *sed etiam* æterna *esset, tamen ab impiis hominibus & hostilibus,* recens & nova *diceretur:*

Juelli Apologia Eccles. Ang. p. 114.

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P 75725

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Hert. Coll. Nov. 1. 1765.

K 38

To His GRACE

THOMAS

Lord ARCHBISHOP of

CANTERBURY,

THE following attempt to vindicate the doctrine and character of our reformers, from the falſe repreſentation and injurious reflections of a late writer of the life of Cardinal *Pole*, is, with all humility and veneration,

inſcribed by

His Grace's

moſt dutiful and obliged

Son and Servant,

Timothy Neve.

PREFACE.

THE reſtleſs emiſſaries of the See of *Rome*, not content with the liberty of conſcience indulged them, are continually reviving the controverſy between their church and ours, and making encroachments upon us. Amongſt the many attacks to which their eagerneſs hath prompted them, and which of late have been very open and indecent; there is no one, in which the exploded errors of popery are worked up in a more artful and inſidious manner, than *the Hiſtory of the Life of Cardinal* POLE, which is a laboured, plauſible inſult both upon the civil and eccleſiaſtical Liberties of this country.

The

The performance, indeed, hath nothing in it, that may alarm us, or give us apprehenſions of its doing miſchief. But as every thing of that nature is looked upon as a kind of defiance, and, if not particularly conſidered, as a triumph too; the author of the following ſheets has ventured to accept the challenge. How he hath acquitted himſelf, the reader muſt determine. But whatever his ſucceſs may be, his endeavours are well meant; and he comforts himſelf with this aſſurance, that he hath ſtrictly followed truth, and hath not wilfully ſuppreſſed, or diſguiſed any thing. He is conſcious, indeed, that his work wants the ornaments of ſtyle to recommend it; and that ſome inaccuracies of language may have ſlipped from him, through the greater attention paid to matter, than to words; for he hath conſidered himſelf as concerned only with hiſtorical evidence; and that matter of fact, when plainly and faithfully related, would be more acceptable to thoſe

readers,

readers, whom alone it is his desire to please, than the gaudy decorations of affected eloquence; and he shall think his ends sufficiently answered, if the pains he hath taken be any ways instrumental in promoting that Sacred Cause, which it is his ambition to serve. Many of the Plagiarisms, which the compiler of the *English* life of Cardinal *Pole* hath been guilty of, are taken notice of in the course of this work: But many more are unnoticed, to avoid prolixity. Only thus much may be observed in general, that the work itself is little more than a collection from other writers; and that there are not many notes, and not very many pages in it, for which he is not indebted to them: their references are taken, but their names industriously concealed. Thus, for instance, *Quirini's* preliminary discourses to every volume of his edition of *Pole's* letters are only once openly referred to, (part 1. p. 208) though they furnished Mr. *Phillips* with the greatest part of his materials.

Whilst

PREFACE.

Whilſt theſe papers were in the preſs, the author was honoured with ſome ſtrictures upon Mr. *Phillips* by the Reverend Dr. *Jortin*; and being unwilling to leſſen the credit of ſuch valuable obſervations, he hath put them in the Appendix by themſelves.

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EXPLANATORY REFERENCES.

Cardinal *Pole's* life is cited from *Quirini's* edition of it, in his firſt volume of *Pole's* letters.

Lord *Herbert's* life of *Henry's* VIII. is cited from the ſmall folio edition, printed 1673.

Biſhop *Burnet's* hiſtory of the reformation is cited from the following editions, vol. 1. printed in 1681, v. 2. 1683, and vol. 3, 1753.

Sleidan's hiſtory, from *Bohun's Eng.* tranſlation, 1689.

Father *Paul's* hiſtory of the council of *Trent*, from *Brent's Eng.* tranſlation, printed in 1629.

Eraſmi Epiſtolæ, from the *Baſil* edition, 1558.

Boſſuet's hiſt. des vari. des Egl. Proteſt. from the *Paris* edit. 1718.

Heylin's hiſtory of the reformation, from the firſt edit. 1661.

Godwin's Annals, from the edit. printed with Lord *Bacon's* hiſtory of *Henry* VII. ſmall fol. 1676.

Fox's Acts and Monuments, from the edit. of 1641.

ERRATA.

The mere typographical errors, being obvious and striking, need not be pointed out; those which affect the sense, the Reader is desired to correct, as follows.

Page 14, line 4 from the bottom, note, instead of *for tho'* read, *indeed.*—p. 16. *turbis sedandi* r. *sedandis.*—p. 35, at the end of note 2, add, *& Herrnschmidii vit. Luth. p.* 99,—*p.* 36, l. 17, *give*, r. *gave*—p. 38, note 1, *p.* 9, r. *p.* 7—*p.* 41, note, l. ult. *p.* 186, r. *p.* 286, and *p.* 56, r. *p.* 50 — p. 62, l. 14, dele *he* — p. 64, l. 13 after *nothing*, add *entire*—p. 69, l. 8, *he*, r. *he*—p. 80, l. 3, 4, *follicit his cause*, r, *promote it*—p. 83, l. 8 &c. the authorities for the quotation omitted, add at bottom *Stowe p.* 554. *Cavendish p.* 166 — p. 106, l. 1, *in* r. *it* — p. 118, l. 20, *but*, r. *for* — p. 126, l. 3, 4, *incations*, r. *innovations.* — p. 128, l. ult. note, and in 4 other places, *ibid. ibidem*, r. *id. ibid.* — p. 142, l. ult. *those*, r. *the* — p. 175, l. ult. *whom*, r. *him* — p. 188, l. 14, dele, *he* — p. 193, l. 10, *From*, r. *After* — p. 200, l. 3, *this*, r. *the.* — p. 202, l. ult. *this* r. *the*; and after *Colet* add, *which is here referred to* —p. 208, l. 8, *that*, r. *his.*—p. 224, l. 14, *more*, r. *worse* — p. 228, l. 2, *defensible*, r. *defensive* — p. 229, l. 19, *they*, r. *it* — p. 235, l. 13, after *Dod*, add *collected* — p. 238, l. 3, *was*, r. *were* — p. 249, l. penult. note, after *farther*, add *back* — p. 282, note 1. *p.* 248, r. *ib. p.* 248 — p. 305, l. 6, dele. *but* — p. 306, l. 3, *such*, r. *his.* — p. 311, l. penult. *had sate*, r. *have sat* — p. 322, l. 9, dele *where* — p. 324, l. 3 fr bott. dele *and* — p. 330, l. 22, *have*, r. *hath.* — p. 340, note 1, *Home*, r. *Hornii* — p. 341, l. 3 fr bott. after *edition*, add *of Sulpicius.* — p. 353, l. 14, after *confession*, add *he*, — p. 354, note 1, *Wolh* r. *Wolf's* — p. 356, l. 9, *Christ will see* &c. r. *let Christ judge whether what I have said be his, or merely my own* — p. 363, l. 12, from the bottom dele *to offer* — p. 368, l. 14, *better have*, r. *done better to have.* and l. 18, *nothing*, r. *any thing* — p. 380, l. 7, after appearance, add, *of Bishops.* and l. 12, *wherein*, r. *when* — p. 386, l. 15, after *judged*, add, *the form in which they drew up this important article, with* — p. 387, note 4, add *Dupin, 16 Cent. v. 2. B. 2. p.* 32 — p. 390, l. 23, *the*, r. *that.* and penult. *them*, r. *it* — p. 422, l. 1, after *volume*, add, *in folio* — p. 486, l. 8 fr. bott. after *Christ*, add *or* — p. 492, note 1, 1554, r. 1553 — p. 500, note 1, l. 3, *dogne*, r. *dogue* — p. 501, l. 9, after *confirmed*, add *by Oath*—p. 508, l. 7. *the* r. *she*; and note *Indors*, r. *Tudors* —p. 518, l. penult. *absolutely*, r. *absolute* 19, l. 6, after *him*, add *such* — p. 522, l. 7, *caves*, r. *lives.*

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FIRST.

IT was not to be expected, but that the extraordinary activity, zeal, and ſucceſs of thoſe great and eminent Perſons, who were more immediately concerned in bringing about and effecting that important Revolution in Religion which happened in the beginning of the 16th Century, ſhould have rendered them the objects of reproach and defamation from the Members of that Communion, whoſe intereſt and gain they ſo effectually overturned. It might however be hoped that, at this diſtance of time, their manes would have been ſpared, and no endeavours uſed to perpetuate thoſe invectives, and hand down to remoteſt poſterity that obloquy, which violent ſpleen, and private reſentment, raiſed againſt them at the firſt.

In a Controverſy of the moſt intereſting nature, in which long-received Opinions were called in queſtion, and inveterate prejudices attacked; it is no wonder if the

paſſions took the alarm, and drew expreſſions of animoſity and rancour from the defendants. Charity will make many and favourable allowances for theſe. We pity the men, and lament the infirmities of humanity. But ſhould a Writer, after an interval of more than two Centuries, enter into an examination of the cauſe with a ſpirit of malice, ſhould he deſcend to ſcurrilities and perſonal invectives; he muſt be received with indignation and contempt by every honeſt Reader, even of his own Party.

How far Mr. *Philips*, the *Engliſh* Writer of the life of *Reginald Pole*, is chargeable with this offence to decency and good manners, will be ſeen in the following Papers. He ſeems to have imagined there could be no better method of extolling his Hero, than at the expence of all who dared to differ from him, not only of thoſe with whom he might have had perſonal altercations, or from whom he might have received perſonal injuries, but of thoſe whoſe ſole offence it was to think, in Matters of Speculation, differently from him. This is truly making himſelf a Party in his Favorite's quarrel: and, as ſuch, he muſt be anſwerable for any free ſtrictures which may occaſionally be brought againſt the conduct, temper, and abilities of *Pole* himſelf; who perhaps may have reaſon to ſay

to

to this diſturber of his aſhes, why haſt thou diſquieted me thus, to bring me up, and ſet me before a freſh tribunal of thoſe, who would not otherwiſe have troubled themſelves about me? or ſought to leſſen the fair reputation I have hitherto been permitted to enjoy amongſt them, without any rigorous enquiry whether I was juſtly entitled to it or no?

The time in which *Reginald Pole* lived was, as this Author expreſſes it, as remarkable *an Epoch, as any ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity*. The Revolutions in Religion, the revival of letters, and a liberal way of thinking and writing, the conſequence of the other two, have made it more canvaſſed, and better known than almoſt any other Period: and he who ſhall appeal to the teſtimony of thoſe times, ſhould take heed to tread upon the ſureſt grounds, and to be certain of his vouchers, not taking them at ſecond hand, but conſulting them himſelf, leſt he ſhould be detected either of ignorance or falſhood. Diſmembered ſentences, mutilated paſſages, perverted citations where the connection will not anſwer to the appeal, or wilful miſconſtructions, will ſoon be found out where Scholars can have have recourſe to books. "He, ſays Mr. *Chillingworth*, that "will accuſe any one man, much more any "great multitude of men of any great and

Philips: P. 1.

"horrible crime, ſhould in all reaſon and "juſtice take care that the greatneſs of his "evidence do equal, if not exceed, the "quality of the crime."[1] Mr. *Philips*, above attending to ſo reaſonable a law, doth not ſeek ſo much for evidence of accuſation as for matter of mere reproach; and, not content with reviling Perſons, hath taken upon him to treat the Religion of his Country with peculiar inſult. Yet it ſeems we are to thank him for not ſpeaking out; Preface p. vii. *for having a greater reſpect for the Public, than himſelf, and ſacrificing much of his own way of thinking, by ſuppreſſing not only ſome juſtifiable, but ſome diſpleaſing things:* but by the ſpecimen he hath given us, we do not reckon ourſelves much obliged to him for his civilities, or think that he has omitted any one aſperſion, which might render the Reformers infamous, or repreſent our Religion falſe and prophane. —— But what elſe can be expected from one, who retails the virulence of *Cochleius* and *Sanders*, whoſe authority, he muſt know, was from the beginning rejected, as the evidence of common and profeſſed calumniators.

It is however by no means the intention of theſe reflections to deprive *Pole*, or any of his Friends, of their juſt praiſes. Falſe is that Religion, and curſed is that Learn-

1 *Chillingworth's* Religion of Proteſtants. Chap. 6. part. 1. p. 310. 2d Edit. 1638.

ing

ing which makes us blind to the merit of thoſe with whom we cannot in all reſpects agree: neither is it the deſign of this work to enter deeply into the Controverſy of the two Churches; only to rectify ſome grievous miſtakes of this writer with regard to facts and authority, and to vindicate the good name of ſome diſtinguiſhed characters, whom he has made the peculiar objects of his cenſures and reproaches.

Agreeably therefore to his own deſire, *We will ſtep back* 200 *years into the Manners, Religion* and *Policy* of the times he treats about, and form the beſt judgment we can from an impartial repreſentation of Facts, as if we had lived then, and were unconcerned about the Opinion of thoſe who were to come after us. And here, the high birth, the eminent ſtation, the real worth and the good qualities of *Pole*, are readily acknowledged: a reſpectable Character he was no doubt, but far from being that capital Figure he is here drawn. If compared with the Writers of his own times, we ſhall find his abilities, tho' not deſpicable, were by no means ſuch as would rank him amongſt the moſt eminent of his cotemporaries. His parts were rather ſpecious than ſolid; his talent lying more in florid declamation than in ſtrict argumentation. From his circumſtances and ſituation in life, he was frequently placed in thoſe

Preface P. VII.

thoſe ſpheres of action, which ill ſuited his genius; which was rather calculated *for the ſtill ſcenes of life*, where he ſhone to better advantage, than when he was engaged in thoſe employments or deſigns which required greater ſpirit, life and activity than he ſeems poſſeſſed of.

Preface p. VIII.

His Education was attended with all the advantages that high birth and affluence could command. He was very early put ſo forward in life by his excellent Tutors, that there was little doubt of his anſwering the expectations conceived of him, and making himſelf fit for thoſe preferments deſigned him by the King, who encouraged and maintained him. In the account that *Wood* gives of his reſidence and progreſs in literature in *Oxford* [1] he ſays nothing of *the academical exercoiſes performed by him, nor of their having laſted ſeveral days*, as Mr. *Philips* informs us *they did*. But he took this account from the foreign Writers of the life of *Pole*, who it is probable magnified his proficiencies, on being told that he was admitted to read the logical books of *Ariſtotle*; by which nothing more is meant, than that he became B. A. it being only the ſtatutable form of admiſſion to

P. 6.

1 *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* v. 1. p. 114. 2d. ed. which this Writer had ſeen and conſulted, having been obliged to him, (though he is above acknowledging it;) for the greateſt part of the particulars of the former page.

that

that degree. From thence, for more improvement, he went to *Padua*, at that time the moſt celebrated place in *Italy* for the cultivation of the Belles Lettres. A young nobleman of his hopes and diſtinction could not but be received with open arms, at a place *then at the height of its glory*; which *Eraſmus* himſelf longed to viſit, and uſed to call, not, as Mr. *Philips* ſays, *the Athens of Europe*, but the *Italy* of *Italy*.[1] P. 13.

As our Author is ſo greatly obliged to cardinal *Quirini*, for the account he has given us of the profeſſors of *Padua*, and the valuable acquaintance which *Pole* made during his five years reſidence in that univerſity, it is very diſingenuous not to vouchſafe once to cite the firſt chapter of *Quirini's* remarks on *Pole's* Letters; for he has not only tranſcribed the chiefeſt part of his narration from thence, but has taken almoſt every quotation and reference from him.[2]

1 *Quam ut olim Atticam τῆς ελλάδος ελλάδα quidam appellarunt, merito Italiam Italiæ quis dixerit.*
Eraſ. Ep. *Petro Bembo.* Lib. 25. p. 958.
See alſo *Quirini* v. 1. p. 219. where the above Letter is referred to; as is *Budæus's* to *Linacre* cited by Mr. *Philips* in the note at the bottom, p. 11. and alſo this Remark of *Eraſmus* concerning Sir *Thomas More*, cited in the ſame place, where he ſays of him, *multo adhuc majora ex naturæ ſuæ fælicitate præſtaturum, ſi hoc ingenium excoluiſſet Italia.* Quirini, v. 1. p. 223.

2 Where cardinal *Quirini* makes a reference to the page or book of any Author, ſo does the ſervile Mr. *P.* — where the one quotes at random, the other is obliged to do ſo too.

The

The great reputation of the Profeſſors at *Padua* had made it the common reſort of learned men, and of all who were ambitious of that character, and deſirous of being recommended to the notice of the world by thoſe who were confeſſedly the beſt judges of literary merit. Here it was where *Pole* began thoſe connections, which diſtinguiſhed his riſing worth. The Profeſſors had this extraordinary ſpur to their induſtry and diligence; they knew that they were forming the mind of one, who was the kinſman and the favorite of a great king, and might hereafter have it in his power amply to reward their labours: and ſome of them partook nobly of his preſent bounty, being maintained by him in his own houſe. 'They therefore took care to publiſh his praiſes, as of one who was an honour to them, and an ornament to their Univerſity.' Here commenced his cloſe intimacy with *Bembo*, *Sadolet* and *Longolius*, which laſted the remainder of their lives.

Whilſt he continued in this place, his acquaintance with *Eraſmus* alſo took its riſe. That great man had received from his friend *Lupſet* a very favourable repreſentation of *Pole*. He therefore entered into an epiſtolary intercourſe with him; which he began by recommending to his favour and

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 201, &c. — 210.

eſteem,

eſteem, in the warmeſt terms, the afterwards well-known *John à Laſco*; thereby genteelly laying himſelf under an obligation to his new correſpondent. In one of his Letters he compliments him ſo far as to give him a detail of the controverſy between *Luther* and himſelf: and to this letter we owe that long, confuſed note of Mr. *Philips*, inſerted evidently to aſperſe the memory of *Eraſmus*, and to miſlead his readers; for in it he has jumbled together a long ſuit of letters, written ſome of them at the diſtance of 6 or 7 years from others; and not only inverted the order of them, but hath moſt unfairly repreſented them as written at almoſt one and the ſame time. The ſubſtance of this note is to be found in *Seckendorf*'s copious hiſtory of *Lutheraniſm*.[1] And indeed he refers to him, but declines telling us in what part of that voluminous work we are to ſeek it. Hence it is probable that he did not conſult *Seckendorf* himſelf, but truſted to ſome other author who quotes him; or that he here gives us a Specimen of one of his uſual arts, of confounding thoſe who would examine his authorities. P. 19.

The epiſtle to *Melanchton*, which he here cites, he hath miſerably mangled. But why doth he take no notice of this clauſe in it, *Tum quod ſcribo, non ſcribo adverſus*

1 *Seckendorf* Hiſt. *Luth.* L. 1. p. 309.

animi

animi ſententiam? plainly, becauſe it makes full againſt him; and clears *Eraſmus* of the charge of prevarication, here ſo ungeneroufly intended him.

In the letter to *Vives*, Mr. *Philips*, by what art of conſtruction I know not, makes him ſay, "I have wrote a treatiſe on Free-"Will," whereas he ſays only, (in an abrupt unconnected manner) "to confeſs the "truth, we have loſt free-will:" nor does he acknowledge that he believed nothing of what he wrote, as he is here repreſented: he expreſſes himſelf thus, *Illic mihi aliud dictabat animus aliud ſcribebat calamus.* Now if inſtead of retailing this ſtale weather-beaten calumny againſt *Eraſmus*, Mr. *Philips* had conſulted his able and candid Apologiſt, he might have learned that the words, "tho' perhaps referring to his diſ-"pute with *Luther*, and incautiouſly ex-"preſſed, yet cannot mean that he had "written againſt his *Conſcience*, but his "*Inclination*, and ſo had loſt his free-will; "this he frequently declared, and choſe a "ſubject wherein he really, and *ex animo* "differed from *Luther*; and all that we "can judge of theſe words is, what he "himſelf averred, that tho' very *unwil-"lingly*, yet very *ſincerely*, he had thus "written."[1]

1 *Jortin*'s Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 413, &c.

The

The letter to the Senate of *Straſburgh* was written to complain of the aſperity of *Hutten*, who had wrote a very abuſive and ſcurrilous treatiſe againſt him, at which he ſays both *Luther* and *Melanchton* were vehemently diſpleaſed. With regard to *Luther*, he ſays, "that he had rather loſe eve-"ry thing, than, by gratifying ſome peo-"ple's paſſions, write againſt his conſci-"ence; only he would not join that party, "as well for many other reaſons, as for "this, that ſome things in *Luther*'s wri-"tings he underſtood not, and ſome things "he approved not." [1]. But it appears by his marginal reference, that our haſty Author took this epiſtle to be an apology of *Eraſmus* for that acrimony which he long afterwards expreſſed againſt *Luther*, in a letter to him not leſs than two years after the date of this. [2]

1 *Omnia recuſavi, quæ mihi principes obtulerunt, ut ſcriberem adverſus Lutherum, imo mea malui perdere, quam ad affectus quorundam ſcribere contra conſcientiam, tantum iſti fœderi nolui dare nomen, quum multis aliis de cauſis, tum ob hoc, quod quædam in libris Lutheri non intelligerem, quædam omnino non probarem.*

Eraſ. Ep. L. 20. p. 716.

2 The reader may here ſee at one view the reſpective dates of the letters, &c. huddled together in this long note of Mr. *Philips*.

Luther publiſhed his book againſt *Henry*, in 1522.
Tonſtall's letter to *Eraſmus*, was written, in 1523.
Luther's letter to *Eraſmus*, diſſuading him from writing againſt him, is dated —— 1524.

Eraſmus's

P. 20. The great intimacy that ſubſiſted between *Pole* and *Longolius* gives our Biographer an opportunity of making a more particular relation of this remarkable *Ciceronian*. *Pole*'s life of him was the firſt, and the beſt ſpecimen, he gave the public of his abilities. It is inſerted in *Bates*'s Lives,[1] and is an elegant elogium. We are told there as well as here, that *Longolius* was born at *Mechlin*, and that too from his own authority; and yet in a letter of *Eraſmus* to *Damian a Goes*,[2] he ſpeaks in a moſt confident manner of his being a true *Hollander*, his father being of that country, and that he had this information from an uncle of *Longolius*. The whole bent of his ambition was the cultivation of eloquence, and the forming his ſtyle ex-

Eraſmus's letters with copies of his book, to *Henry*, *Tonſtall*, *Wolſey*, and the Pope's Secretary are dated, —— —— 1524.
Eraſmus's letter, to *George*, brother of the Duke of *Saxony*, relates to the *Hyperaſpiſtæ*, and is dated, —— —— 1527.
---- His letter to *Melanchton*, is dated, --- 1524.
---- To *Vives*, is dated —— —— 1527.
---- his angry letter to *Luther*, is dated, 1526.
Eraſmus's book contra *Pſeudo-Evangelicos*. 1529.
---- Letter to the Senate of *Straſburgh*, dated, 1524.

1 Vitæ ſelectorum Virorum. *Bateſius*, p. 240.

2 *Purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit Schoonhoviæ. ---- quod dico, patruus ipſius, Petrus Longolius, vir apprime doctus, mihi narravit.* Eraſ. Ep. L. 27. p. 1106.

actly

actly after the model of *Cicero*'s, servilely copying his words and phrases; as if nothing was classical unless it was to be found in his writings. This close imitation drew upon him, and others of the same turn, the censures of some of the best criticks of those times, who laughed at them for their pains; [1] and yet this man *undertook to refute* Luther's *whole system*: "a task for "which he was not at all fit, having no- "thing in his head besides *Ciceronianism* and "a little Philology." [2] An intense application to study seems to have shortened his days. Before he was taken ill, he made his will, and bequeathed his library to his friend and executor *Pole*, whom he acquainted with his illness, not by *dictating* but writing to him himself: and he immediately came to comfort his sick friend, P. 20.

1 *Erasmus* in his *Ciceronianus*. *Scaliger* says of *Longolius*, *non suo sensu, sed Ciceronis locutus est, dum non stylum Ciceronis, sed ipsissimas Phrases, adeoque sententias transcribit.* Scaligeran. p. 244. cited in *Jortin*'s Life of *Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 159. And *Erasmus* in his letter to *Pole*, besides the quotation in the margin, p. 20. *doleo Longolium*, &c. speaking of his style, tells him, *in his quæ prodierunt apparet anxia Ciceronianæ dictionis affectatio, sed interim frigentibus interdum sententiis, subolet juvenilis quidam amor gloriæ.* Ep. L. 21. p. 790.

2 *Jortin*'s *Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 165. And thus *Erasmus*, in the letter to *a Goes*, cited here by Mr. *Philips*, says, *qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem exprimeret, nec infeliciter cessit conatus, at hic quanto seipso frigidior est, in his, in quibus pugnat adversus Lutheri dogmata.*

who

who expired a few days after, in the 33*d* year of his age. It will give us but a very indifferent idea of his good sense, that he desired to be buried in the habit of a Cordelier.[1] *Erasmus*, in a letter to *Alciat*, hath given an humorous account of the vanity and stiffness of this pedantick *Ciceronian*; "who was so solemn, that though he staid "with him three days, he never observed "him to smile, not even at meal-times, "tho' he would sometimes aim at a joke "in his letters; — that according to this "sect, every thing must be expressed as "*Cicero* would have done it. Oh! if he "could revive, how he would laugh at these

1 *Epistola a Longolio conscripta extremum spiritum ducenti*; and then follows the former part of the letter here quoted. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 205. *Pole* himself in his life of *Longolius*, speaking of his friend's illness, says, *eo tempore forte abesset Polus, cui antea res suas omnes crediderat, quem tamen per literas quo statu esset certiorem fecit . . quo nuntio tristissimo ille perculsus subito accurrit; . . . antequam vero discederet, in divi Francisci Familiam voluit adoptari, ejusque habitu post mortem & templo sepeliri. Obiit* 33°. *ætatis anno.* 3°. *Id. Septembris A. D.* 1522. I have been thus minute and particular in this and a former note, to point out some of Mr. *Philips*'s inaccuracies. It was as easy for him to have followed his authorities closely, as to have been hasty and careless. A Biographer should attend to dates, and his extracts should be clear and full, *for tho' the disagreement here with matter of fact is not material; but the reader is entitled to accuracy even in things which are not so.* *Pole*'s life, p. 24. Note.

disciples

"disciples of his." [1] Such is the character that Scholars have given of him.

But while they at *Padua* were reforming their style and language, they were called off to more important concerns than that of joining words together. An *Auguſtinian* friar had ſtarted a controverſy, not of diction but of faith; and how well he maintained his cauſe is apparent. At the name of *Martin Luther* every ſon of *Rome* trembled; and happy was he who could aſperſe him moſt. Our Biographer hath put in his mite, and repeated the clamour; and hath drawn the outlines of his picture, but in ſuch diſtorted features, as to loſe all reſemblance. We diſclaim the character here P. 25.
given of that zealous Reformer, as being the reverſe of the original. But before we vindicate his good name, we will exorciſe thoſe evil ſpirits that he is ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed with, and rid him *of his execrable*

1 *Toto triduo quo mecum egit, nunquam vidi hominem vel leviter ſubridentem; ne in conviviis quidem: . . & tamen in epiſtolis nonnunquam conatur eſſe feſtivus . . exorta eſt nova ſecta Ciceronianorum . . poſthac non licebit epiſcopos appellare patres reverendos, nec in calce literarum ſcribere annum a Chriſto nato, quod id nuſquam faciat Cicero. Quid autem ineptius quam . . non aliter audere loqui, quam locutus eſt Cicero! ſi reviviſceret ipſe Cicero, rideret hoc Ciceronianorum genus.*

Eraſ. Ep. *Alciato.* L. 21. p. 798.

See more of *Longolius* in the firſt volume of *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus. paſſim.*

inti-

intimacies Mr. *Philips* ſo poſitively aſſerts he maintained *with thoſe infernal inmates*. A charge of this nature ſhould be well proved, or not named at all; for the infamy of ſuch ſlanders will fall ſomewhere. Happily however for this ſtaunch catholick; he tells us, *Luther* himſelf, *loſt to every human ſentiment, acknowledged this diabolical inſtructor as his maſter.*

The firſt appeal by way of proving this formidable accuſation, is to a treatiſe of *Luther*'s, entitled *Concio de turbis Sedandi*: but as no ſuch treatiſe is mentioned either by *Seckendorf*, or *Hernſchmidius* (who publiſhed *Luther*'s life in 1742) who have each given a catalogue of his works according to the date of the years when they were wrote or publiſhed, I leave it to our writer to make the moſt he can of it. His next proof of this notable fact is, *part of a ſentence* taken from *Luther*'s *table-talk*; a book not publiſhed by himſelf, not allowed to be his by many of his followers, nor appearing till many years after his death, and its ſuppoſed compiler's; "yet allowing it to "be genuine, what fair and reſpectable ad- "verſary would urge looſe table-talk againſt "a man in controverſy, and build ſerious in- "ferences upon what perhaps was ſpoken "but in jeſt,"[1] perhaps miſtaken by the rela-

P. 25. note.

1 *Atterbury*'s anſwer to the conſiderations on the ſpirit of *Martin Luther*; p. 16. 1687. Qto.

tor,

tor, or perhaps not ſpoken at all. But however, as we are pretty ſure that *Luther* never kept bad company, we will ſee what Mr. *Philips* can make againſt him from thence: tho' we muſt remind him, that as there is an Engliſh tranſlation of this *Table-talk*, it was not kindly done to refer us to a Latin edition of a book not eaſily to be procured, or if it could, to a paſſage not readily to be found, when only a few detached words make the whole proof of this accuſation.

It was indeed prudent for him, thus to fight in the dark; for having found out the place, we ſee nothing like it. For thus does *Luther* expreſs himſelf. Having before ſpoke of the oppoſition from within in mental ſuggeſtions, wherewith he was aſſaulted by the Devil, he adds to comfort himſelf. "What I "teach, write, preach, and intend, the ſame "I lead openly in the clear day-light, not "hidden in a corner; I direct, and ſquare "all the ſame by the goſpel, by baptiſm, "and the Lord's prayer. Chriſt ſtandeth "here, him I cannot deny, upon the goſpel "do I ground my cauſe, *&c.* Yet notwith-"ſtanding all this, the Devil bringeth it ſo "near unto me, with his crafty diſputing, "that the ſweat of anguiſh droppeth from "me, inſomuch as many times I feel and "underſtand, *that he ſleepeth nearer unto "me than my wife Kate doth*; THAT IS,

"he diſquieteth me more, than ſhe com-
"forteth, or pleaſeth me; even thus St.
"*Paul* comforted himſelf when he was re-
"viled for a rebel. Likewiſe the Devil ſtirred
"up the Jews againſt Chriſt, *therefore* do
"I ſay to the Devil, like as thou cameſt to
"confuſion by Chriſt and St. *Paul*, even
"ſo ſhall it go with thee, if thou meddleſt
"with me." [1] This is the whole connected paſſage, from whence this zealous honeſt writer, or ſome more zealous friend, picked out this ſounding, diſjointed ſentence, to demonſtrate *Luther*'s intimacy with the Devil. If ſo, *Martin* ſhewed his affection for the fiend in a very odd manner; and the proof of it does not diſcover an intimacy of friendſhip, but a declaration of war, a challenge of defiance: and as he was overturning his kingdom, he made as free with his name, as he did with any of his votaries. And whatever *reſpect was due to his readers*, Mr. *Philips* was certainly wanting in that *due to himſelf*, when he ventured to refer to this place.

P. 25.

Errata before the 2d pt.

But for this diſmembered quotation, authority is at laſt produced, ſuch as it is, but an authority plainly diſcovered after the falſhood had been detected: becauſe, in this, and the following page of *Walſingham*'s ſearch,[2] where this honeſt quotation occurs, there

1 *Luther*'s *Table-Talk*, Engl. ed. chap. 37. *Of tribulation and temptation*, p. 391

2 Search into matters of religion. *Lond.* 1609.

are

are ſome others of the ſame ſort added, which would by no means have been overlooked by one who was hunting for matter of defamation; ſuch as, *eating a buſhel of ſalt with the Devil, — that he was ſo about him that he could neither write nor read*, &c. &c. which have afforded much pleaſant paſtime to *Luther*'s able and candid opponents. Mr. *Walſingham*, the perſon upon whoſe authority our author relies for this weighty objection, was a deacon of our church; a well meaning but a weak man, who was unſettled by lighting upon a defence of father *Campian*, wrote by his brother miſſionary holy father *Parſons*, in anſwer to a book publiſhed by two Puritan Divines. Mr. *W.* in order to ſolve the doubts which he could not anſwer himſelf, inſtead of conſidering the full and able rejoinder immediately made to that defence,[1] choſe to ſettle his mind by confiding in the *plauſible* repreſentations, which his new friends gave of their religion: and truſting to the books, they put into his hands, he ſeemeth not to have doubted of the truth of the citations he found in in them. For

1 See a treatiſe againſt the defence of the cenſure given upon the books of *W. Charke*, and *Meredith Hanmer*, in maintenance of the ſeditious challenge of *Edmund Campian* lately condemned and executed for high treaſon. A cool, well-written ſenſible performance.

A 12°. book printed at *Cambridge*, no year mentioned.

in

in the inſtance before us, it is ſcarcely credible that he, any more than Mr. *Philips*, gave himſelf the trouble of conſulting *Luther*'s works; but relied upon extracts given him by a friend. For ſurely no honeſt and good man, who could ſee with his own eyes, or valued his own reputation, would ſtop ſhort (as they both do) and content himſelf, *with a few words in the middle of a ſentence*, when the whole, if clearly ſtated, would make entirely againſt him. —— But what Faith is to be kept with Hereticks!

Neither does our Author ſucceed better in his next reference, a quotation that he ought to be aſhamed to make; and to which no one, who would give himſelf time and thought to conſult the book wherein it occurs, could in honour or conſcience have given ſuch a turn. It is not in the Treatiſe here appealed to, *De abroganda miſſa privata*, but in that entitled, *De miſſa privata & unctione ſacerdotum*; and is plainly, like the former, a mental ſuggeſtion, a ſpiritual conflict upon reflecting, that for years together he had celebrated Maſs, whilſt he was a ſinner. He ſought to quiet his conſcience, and anſwer theſe temptations of the Devil, by ſaying, he was an anointed prieſt becauſe he ſaid Maſs in the Faith of the church. He confeſſes, that tho' in reſpect of his own faith and ſins, upon the principles he then held, he could not repel the Devil's ſophiſtry;

try; yet when he conſidered the grace and power of Chriſt, all his terrors vaniſhed. In the *German*, and in the *Jena* Latin tranſlation, this imaginary bodily conference is ſaid to be *in corde*.[1] The whole repreſents the uneaſineſs of his own mind, not thoroughly ſatisfied with the arguments he uſed againſt theſe internal aſſaults, when under the bondage of popery, and whilſt he was ignorant of his own ſtrength.[2] In this anxiety of mind, being convicted by the law of God, he owned himſelf a ſinner; and turning unto Chriſt with *Peter*, looked upon his infinite merits, who hath condemned all horrible condemnation: and though without

1 *Cœpit Diabolus in corde meo diſputationem, multas enim noctes ſatis acerbas & moleſtas mihi facere poteſt.* *Lutheri* op. ed. *Jenæ*, v. 2.

In the *Wittenburgh* edition the conference begins thus, *Si forſan agnoſcatis, quam firmis nitatur columnis veſtra cauſa, ſi in horam incidatis tentationum . . Contigit me ſemel ſub mediam noctem ſubito expergefieri, ibi Satan mecum cœpit ejuſmodi diſputationem.*

De miſſa privata, & unct. ſacerdot. *Lutheri* op. ed. *Witt.* v. 7. p. 228.

2 *In his anguſtiis, in hoc agone contra diabolum volebam retundere hoſtem Armis, quibus aſſuetus ſum ſub papatu, objiciebamque intentionem & fidem eccleſiæ . . . ſi ego inquam non rectè credidi aut ſenſi, tamen in hoc rectè credidit & ſenſit eccleſia. verum Satan e contra fortius & vehementius inſtans . . . hic reſpondebunt mihi ſanctiſſimi patres, hic ridebunt & dicent, Tune es Doctor ille celebris, & non noſti reſpondere Diabolo? --- ſi papiſta eſſem omnium tentationum rudis, quem ſecurum & ſtertentem negligeret . . . etiam talis gygas eſſem, contra abſentem hoſtem, audacer, & fortis.* Ibid. p. 229. 230.

Chriſt

Chriſt he was guilty, yet thro' faith in him, tho' a ſinner, he was holy and pure and clean; and had received Baptiſm, Abſolution, and the Sacraments, as ſeals of the Divine Grace.[1]

This is the ſubſtance of this imaginary diabolical conference, which modeſt and holy Mr. *Phillips* tells us *cannot be read without horror*; but which we have related with pleaſure, profeſſing we ſee nothing in it but what is grave, ſerious, and pious; and, if impartially conſidered, muſt greatly raiſe the character of *Luther* either as a Divine or a Chriſtian. We were threatened *with the paſſage at length in the appendix:* but when our ingenuous author had procured an edition of *Luther*'s works, his heart miſgave him. To ſtate *the paſſage* fairly, he found, would not anſwer his purpoſe: his word was plighted to the Publick. What was to be done? To inſert it, or wholly to

Append. pt. 2d. p. 241.

P. 25.

1 *Opus eſt in tali agone divino & cæleſti auxilio --- confeſſus quidem ſum (lege Dei convictus) coram diabolo, me peccaſſe, me damnatum eſſe ut Judam, ſed verto me ad Chriſtum cum Petro, & reſpicio ejus immenſum beneficium & meritum, &c. Ille omnem horrendam damnationem damnavit. Extra Chriſtum eſſem quidem reus mortis æternæ, ſed quia ſum in Chriſto, & in ipſo credo, ipſum invoco, tum jam mea damnatio eſt damnata . . . & conſtanter poſſum dicere, etiam ſi ſim peccator, tamen ſum ſanctus & innocens in Chriſto, . . ipſe meum peccatum delevit per ſanguinem ſuum, de hoc non dubito, in hoc accepi baptiſmum, abſolutionem & ſacramenta, ut ſigilla certa divinæ gratiæ, &c.* Ibid. p. 230.

Seckendorf hath related the hiſtory of this diſpute, and fully expoſed the idle objection of a real or ſenſible appearance. L. 1. p. 166, *& ſeq.*

omit

omit it, would be acting with too much honour for rancour and bigotry: it would be giving up the point: it would be confeſſing the paſſage was falſly, was ignorantly, was impertinently alledged. His beſt way, ſince he was gone ſo far, he thought would be, to compromiſe the matter; to ſlur it over with a pious exclamation; groſly to inſult the memory of *Luther*; to take the Devil's part, and make him have the better of the diſpute. *Luther*'s works are not common: who knows but a confident appeal to them will paſs off unſuſpected? Is this the good faith of the conſcientious Mr. *Philips*? Did he think, that becauſe he publiſhed his book in a land of Hereſy, we were not entitled to honeſty and impartiality? how elſe will he excuſe his wilful miſrepreſentations? how elſe palliate his notorious falſhoods? But perhaps his zeal, or his *horror*, would not ſuffer him to go through the few pages this conference takes up. I hope therefore for truth's ſake, he did not read the whole paſſage; elſe, in his own language, we ſhall aſk him, *what ſpirit is he poſſeſſed with*, to ſay, *the Devil prevailed over* Luther, *and that* Luther *yielded the victory to him*? when *Luther* himſelf expreſſly aſſerts, that the Devil was a liar; that he miſſed his aim; that he could not drive him to deſpair; and that the thoughts of Chriſt's Merits and

Append. pt. 2. p. 241.

and Mercies removed all his ſcruples and anxiety of mind. Now let the Reader judge, whether or no *Luther* learnt of the Devil to aboliſh the Maſs, that pretended *capital article of the Catholick Religion*. After all, if Mr. *Phillips* inſtead of dipping into the book juſt at the conference, and ſtopping there, had read further in this treatiſe *de Miſſa privata*, &c. he would have learnt that the queſtion there, is not, about aboliſhing the Maſs; but only that the conflicts of an awakened conſcience for ſaying private Maſs, when he firſt found it to be ſinful, are ſtated under the fiction of a bodily conference with the Adverſary of mankind. Now if this *dialogue with the ſpirit of lies* had ended in *Luther*'s giving up the point, there would have been matter of real triumph: inſtead of that, he by no means yeilded to the perſuaſions of his diabolical Foe, by being driven to deſpair; but overcame the temptation and the aſſault, by appealing to the Mercy of God, and the Merits of Chriſt.

The enemies of *Luther* muſt be hard driven, when they are compelled to go ſo low for matter of invective; as to rail at him, for diſagreeing with the Devil. The truth is, that *Luther*, without the Devil's help or *inſtructions*, had aboliſhed the Maſs, as a *capital error*, ſome years before this treatiſe was publiſhed. To repreſent the feel-

feelings and anxiety of his mind, before he could ſatisfy himſelf in that point, he deſcribed them in the language of the convent; and exhibited, under this feigned conference, the ſtruggles of a tender conſcience before conviction. Thus *his intimacies with theſe infernal inmates* end not only in oppoſing, but in vanquiſhing them: which is but a ſtrange way of returning the kindneſs of their *inſtructions*. — But what muſt we think of thoſe, who, to blaſt a good man's reputation, ſhall quote a ſtrong figurative manner of expreſſion, as aſſerting a real matter of fact, and then argue gravely from this preſumption? is not this ſuch diſhoneſt chicanery, as merits the ſevereſt reprehenſion? — but let ſuch be left to the laſhes of their own conſcience. *And I ſhould be wanting to the reſpect I owe to the reader*, to detain him by formally refuting ſuch ſhameful objections and "ſilly ſtories, that they are fit to be the "objects of a ſtronger and more reſigning "faith, than we proteſtants can pretend to."[1]

But did *Luther* alone keep ſuch bad company? Many of the *Romiſh* Saints had much greater familiarity with the *ſpirit of darkneſs and lies*. He played them many a ſad prank. — He ſerved poor *Benedict* a trick, tho' he had like to have ſuffered for it himſelf. He appeared to this Saint in ſhape of a blackbird, and came ſo near his

1 *Atterbury*, p. 46.

mouth

mouth that he might have caught him, but whilſt he was croſſing his mouth, the bird was flown indeed, but left behind him ſo terrible a diſhoneſt carnal temptation, which plagued him ſo much, that he threw off his cloaths, and rolled himſelf amongſt thorns and briars, that the pain might drive away the temptation. — That meek and godly man St. *Dominick*, the father of that holy tribunal the Inquiſition, who is ſaid never to have committed one mortal ſin, and to whom the virgin *Mary* gave the Roſary, yet even he could not eſcape old Satan's malice. Once he diſturbed the Saint at ſtudy, by ſkipping about the leaves of his book in the ſhape of a flea. *Dominick* however ſeized him, kept him in that ſhape, and pinned him to the place where he left off, as a mark. — Another time the fiend was more ſaucy, and in the ſhape of a monkey, by grinning and other apiſh tricks diſturbed him more than ever: but here again he met with his match, for the Saint made him hold his candle ſo long, till his claws were burnt to the bone. — One day as they were ſtudying together, the Fiend produced a long liſt of the ſins of the *Dominican* fraternity, which upon the Saint's commands he quietly (knowing his power) gave up to him. [1] — Once he had a long

1 *Antoninus Chron.* p^t^, 3. tit. 23. cap. 4. 6.

con-

conference with many Devils together, and forced them to confeſs the virtues of the Roſary, and that he was the Saint they moſt feared. — After that, the Devil and he were good friends, and he became his diſciple and ſervant; for he ſet up the Inquiſition, and butchered the poor *Albigenſes* by wholeſale. In the firſt act of faith at *Tholouſe*, he burnt at leaſt 300, ſome ſay 400 of them alive in one day for hereſy; which *Paramus*, a well-known inquiſitor, ſaid, was the moſt glorious that ever was ſeen. [1] — The flaming heart, the glorious St. *Thereſa*, as ſhe is ſtyled, had alſo many exteriour repreſentations of the Devil in various ſhapes and diſguiſes: and it was ſome time, before ſhe found out, how much he deteſted holy water, which made him fly away at once. [2] — That angelick virgin, the ſoul-ſeeing St. *Catherine* of *Sienna*, [3] and the famous S^ta. *Clara*, [4] were both of them diſ-

1 See *Geddes*'s view of all the orders of monks and friars in the *Roman* church, p. 4. 28. 36, *&c.* where there are many ſuch pretty tales taken from the lives of theſe bleſſed Saints. Miſcellaneous tracts, v. 3.

2 S^t. *Thereſa*'s life, *Eng.* edit. 1642. c. 31. p. 445, *&c.* of certain exteriour temptations and repreſentations of the Devil, *&c.*

3 S^t. *Catherine* of *Sienna*'s life. *Eng.* edit. 1609. p^t. 1. c. 20. p. 87. Of the ſtrange battailes which ſhe had againſt the Devil, *&c.*

4 Vita S^tæ. *Claræ. Antwerp.* 1650. c. 7. p. 45. *De exercitatione ejus in Oratione, a qua Dæmon eam abſtrahere conatur.*

turbed

turbed by conferences with this angel of darkneſs; the latter of whom he aſſaulted with ſtripes. — But he made the moſt impreſſion of all, in early days, upon St. *Martin* of *Tours*, with whom he had ſo many conferences, that the St. began to conceive hope of his friend's Salvation. [1]

But theſe are only ſlight ſpecimens of the portentous fictions, with which the lives of the *Romiſh* Saints are replete. They are mentioned here with no other view, but to ſhew the conſiſtency of Mr. *Philips*, who can relate a ſtory to the diſgrace, as he conceives, of *Luther*, whilſt multitudes of the like kind, but infinitely more abſurd, are recorded to the glory of the heroes of his own communion; all which, monſtrous as they are, his religion compels him to believe. But it is probable, ſo enlightened a perſon hath ſome favourable palliations to allege in behalf of theſe reveries: let him grant the ſame indulgence to theſe ſtories of *Luther*, and then he will be at liberty to make the worſt uſe of it he is able. I cannot but congratulate the world, on Mr. *Alban Butler*'s pious and edifying performance, who in condeſcenſion to the depraved, vitiated taſte of the times, ſo much devoted to novels and romances, the figments of the imagination, has publiſhed

1 See his life by *Sulpitius Severus*, ſect. 24.

ſuch

ſuch amuſing fables, as *the lives of the Saints muſt* be, if abounding with thoſe ridiculous and palpable abſurdities, which mark throughout the legendary lives of thoſe curious and imaginary Saints, the fathers of the deſert, and thoſe fanatical devotees whom *Surius*, *Rabadeneira*, &c. have ſo gravely obtruded into the world. Preface p. xi.

Having failed ſo much in his evidence for *Luther*'s diabolical connections, let us ſee whether he is more fortunate in the character he draws of that reformer and his writings; and it will appear that he is equally a ſtranger to both; receiving his impreſſions of them, not by a perſonal inſpection into his works, of which I am perſuaded he never read a line, but from the exaggerated miſrepreſentations of declared adverſaries. The firſt and more immediate occaſion of *Luther*'s defect from the See of *Rome* is well known. He was a man of uncommon virtue and reſolution. The corruption, the ignorance, the wickedneſs of thoſe times, is loudly complained of by every ſerious writer; the neceſſity and want of a reformation acknowledged by our author in many places of this book,[1] and indeed by all the candid writers of his own church, and not openly denied by any of the ſycophants of the popes. The moral

1 P. 139. 141, 151, 209, &c.

part

part of *Luther*'s character hath never been impeached: his abilities ſpeak for themſelves. There is indeed, but then it was the general fault of the age, juſt emerging out of ignorance and barbariſm, an aſperity and roughneſs in his writings, far different from that delicacy which an improvement in politeneſs has ſince made the teſt of civility and good manners. What would offend us now, carried with it then, no idea of rudeneſs or indelicacy, but was the common language and expreſſion of the ſchools. This, and the nature of his undertaking, which required all the firmneſs he could poſſibly collect, and all the native plainneſs of his country, is the only apology expedient to vindicate him from the petulant cenſures of this biographer.

The cotemporary writers ſpeak highly of *Luther*'s morals, and abilities. Like another *Athanaſius*, he for ſome time ſingly bore the ſtorms of the whole world: and thoſe who were the moſt galled by him did by no means look upon him, tho' alone, as an inſignificant opponent. They ſoon found his heroical ſpirit too much ſuperior to them. Many of thoſe who widely differed from him, yet ſpoke reſpectfully of him. *Eraſmus*'s favourable and candid opinion of him is well known: and to deprive us of the weight of his teſtimony, he himſelf is accuſed of being a ſuſpected friend, and wiſhing

wiſhing well to his deſigns. But *he* does not ſpeak more advantageouſly of him than Pope *Leo* the tenth himſelf did, when he ſaid, "brother *Martin* is a fine genius, and "his enemies are little envious monks;"[1] or than biſhop *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, who, in two of his letters to *Eraſmus*, mentions him in terms of the utmoſt regard; acknowledging his extraordinary abilities, and his maſterly knowledge of the SS; and only wiſhing he had ſpared the Pope and his court.[2] But *Luther* was not of a temper to do things by halves. He had a ready apprehenſion, a ſolid judgment, and an invincible fortitude: what he wrote, came from the heart; was the effect of conviction, of meditation, and prayer.

His firſt attempt, againſt the exorbitant ſale of indulgences, carried with it all the diffidence of modeſt Worth: he ſeemed fearful of attacking received and revered

1 *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*. V. 1. p. 124. Note.

2 *Lutherus de quo ſcripſeras, mirabili ingenii acumine præditus eſt, & SS. præſto habet ad manum. Legi enim ea quæ ſcripſit maxima cum aviditate. Vellem libentiſſime illum poſſum convenire abſque gravi incommodo meo, ut poſſem cum eo diſcutere nonnulla, quæ me movent, &c.* And in another letter he ſays, *Audio Lutheri commentarios in Pſalterium, & in Epiſtolam ad Epheſios propediem emittendos. Placet mihi hominis ingenium, & mirifica in SS. eruditio, vellem profecto ſe temperaſſet de ſummo Pontifice loqui, & de iis quæ ad Romanam curiam ſpectant.*

Cited by *John Fox* in his continuation of *Haddon's* anſwer to *Oſorius*, p. 279.

doctrines;

doctrines; yet conſcious at the ſame time of his abilities to ſupport and confirm his notions and aſſertions, which he propoſed in a ſcholaſtick and academick method. When no redreſs was made of this ſhameful proſtitution of religion, this offence to decency and common ſenſe, ſo loudly complained of; but the factors ſtill went on with their deluſive cheats, and the diſputant was not attempted to be anſwered by argument but overpowered by numbers: he then examined the matter more dogmatically as a divine; and ſoon found the venerable name of antiquity impudently given to doctrines, but lately received into the church.

In the courſe of his ſtudies, he gained further degrees of knowledge and experience, which he communicated to the world; and, as he knew not what it was to fear, he gradually attacked, by the force of the ſame powerful conviction, other corruptions of the church. When his writings were publiſhed, they were examined and debated amongſt the learned, with the ſame preciſion and accuracy, as before by himſelf in his cloſet; and, as of old, ſome believed and were perſuaded, and ſome were not. But however it could not but give him perfect joy and ſatisfaction, to find his writings ſo eagerly enquired after, and ſo well approved of, that many of the greateſt diſcernment

cernment and underſtanding avowedly ſupported his perſon and cauſe. This alarmed thoſe at *Rome:* and what was to be done? *Cajetan* had found, that he had neither a ſordid nor a timorous ſoul. He was then to be run down and baited with a world of furies. The Pope and the Emperor proſcribed him: they burnt his books; and would have confuted his perſon the ſame way, if they could have caught him. They even ſubmitted to expoſe him by the meaneſt buffooneries: they repreſented him as the offspring or incubus of the Devil; nay that he was not a man, but a Devil in a monk's cowl. They encouraged their tools in their moſt illiberal railings againſt him; and, inſtead of hearkening to any of his juſt remonſtrances, or vouchſafing to correct any of their moſt flagrant corruptions, they ſhewed their inflexible determination to continue them with all their priſtine enormities, and to check this inſolent aggreſſor by the ſevereſt denunciations.

Then, and not till then, *Luther*'s ſpirit and fire was moved; and when the perverſeneſs, the ſtupidity, the effrontery of his opponents had tranſported him, and made him ſomewhat furious, reaſonable judges will eſteem it not unpardonable, if he likewiſe, as well as they, offended in his words: but had he ſhrunk under the oppoſition, or been terrified at their

threats, there had been an end of him and his doctrines. A man of his warmth and impetuosity was absolutely necessary for the arduous work which God had appointed him to do, who operates by second agents and natural causes: and the good man himself was as sensible of this his natural infirmity as others were to reproach him with it, is frequently making apologies for it, and laying it upon the great provocations he received. His enemies did all they could to irritate and provoke him; and then basely cried out against his temper, when they felt the effects of his indignation. When he offered at first to be quiet, if they would be so too, they looked upon it as proceeding from fear; after that, he would not listen to any overtures of peace.[1] In his memorable defence before the Emperor at *Worms*, he owned this to be his natural failing; saying that "he did not pre-"tend to be a Saint, or dispute about the "goodness of his own life, but the doc-"trine of Christ."[2] And in another place,

1 *Certus sum dogmata mea habere me de cœlo . . . . Ipsi me provocaverunt ad bellum, bellum igitur habebunt; pacem oblatam contempserunt, pacem igitur non habebunt, ... Christus mihi spiritum suppeditabat insignem contemptorem, tam fraudis, quam furoris Papistici, fecitque ut quo magis SS. purgarem, eo certius abominationem implicitam invenirem.*

Contra Regem *Angliæ*, v. 2. *Witt.* ed. p. 331.

2 *Tertium genus eorum est (sc. librorum) qui scripti sunt*

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vindicating himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, he adds, "that they were welcome to attack "his life; but this he could ſay, he was "above ſuch low work; all that he in- "veighed againſt were doctrines and te- "nets, contrary to the word of God."[1]

And tho' we do not juſtify ſome exceſſes of this infirmity, which came from him unawares, and when he had been roughly handled, or thought the ſacred cauſe of truth and religion injured; yet we muſt ſay, was there not a cauſe? His enemies kept no terms with him: where they could, they impriſoned, they ruined, they burnt his friends: the leaſt appearance of timidity in him would have been conſtrued the deſerting his cauſe. He was obliged to act

ſunt adverſus privatos quoſdam, qui tyrannidem pariter, & dogmata Papæ tueri volunt, & mihi calumnioſe multa impinxerunt, in hos confiteor me fuiſſe acerbiorem, quam pro religione aut profeſſione deceat, neque enim me ſanctum aliquem facio, neque de vita mea, ſed de doctrina Chriſti diſputo. Ibid. p. 165.

1 *Longe me abeſſe a modeſtia Evangelica dicit Latomus, quam doceo . . . at nunquam exegi, ut me quis modeſtum aut ſanctum haberet, ſed ut Evangelium omnes agnoſcerent, data licentia in meam vitam graſſandi cujuſvis libidini. Hoc tamen gloriatur conſcientia mea, nullius vitam, aut famam eſſe a me læſam, ſaluti dogmata, ſtudia, & ingenia in verbum Dei impia & ſacrilega acerbe inſectatus ſum. . . . . Hoc poſſum teſtari, cortex meus eſſe poteſt durior, ſed nucleus meus mollis & dulcis eſt, nemini enim male volo, ſed omnibus opto mecum quam optime conſultum, porro duritia mea, ut nemini noceat, ita neminem fallit.*

Contra *Latomum*, v. 2. *Witt.* ed. p. 213.

valiantly. God had given him the heart of a lion. His magnanimity was visible upon all occasions where resolution was required; and the conflicts which preceded shewed it to be the effect, not of arrogance, but conviction: and with such firmness did he persevere, that he frequently declared, the Pope should sooner come over to him, than he return to his communion; and, that he had rather fall with Christ, than reign with *Cesar*.

War being now declared; and as the controversy was to be decided by the pen, here was employment enough for the learned of both sides. Their ambition was raised by different motives. Abbies, bishopricks and the cardinalate, give an edge to the defenders of the papal power: whilst nothing was left for the others, but to fight against the stream; and the poor pittance of a *German* professorship, with the empty praise of deep erudition, was the utmost temporal reward they could expect. But, before we proceed farther, it will not be improper to enquire a little into the government of the ecclesiastical state, and the publick reasons alledged by the reformers for the secession they made. Our author is fond upon all occasions of attacking the morals, not so much indeed of the reformers themselves (that *we defy him to do*) but of that promiscuous multitude, which was

ſuppoſed to embrace the tenets of ſome or other of them. This however is no argument at all; *erunt vitia, donec erunt homines:* and good men of every age and communion have ever lamented and confeſſed the wickedneſs of the times. And ſurely none but bigots would paſs over the grievous actual faults of the members of their own church, to ſpy out all the vices that diſgrace religion and humanity in thoſe who differ from them: for every ſtate, and every church, muſt, from the perverſeneſs and the obſtinacy of mankind, feel its own evils; and it is eaſy to retaliate ſuch objections with intereſt. If the ſpring and head of the fountain be polluted, the ſtreams will be ſo too. The numerous ſchiſms in the papacy, the diſſolute lives of the profeſſed, the zeal of the church-men to aggrandize their own wealth and power, and the flagrant enormities of the Popes themſelves (many of whom *Bellarmine*, their own doughty champion, confeſſes to have gone in a long train to the Devil) had raiſed the indignation of ſerious and good perſons.[1] But the degeneracy and corruption of the church of *Rome* was never more viſible than in the times we are now concerned with: as will be evident from a view of the exploits and characters of thoſe ſovereign pontiffs who

[1] Such as *Savanarola*, *Wickliff*, *Gerſon*, *Petrarch*, *&c.*

preſided

preſided in the See of *Rome*, from the beginning of the 16th century (to go no farther back) to the end of the council of *Trent*.

The firſt of theſe holy fathers, was that deteſtable monſter *Alexander* the 6th;[1] a man of the moſt debauched and profligate character; whoſe government was one continued ſeries of moſt horrid crimes to aggrandize his baſtards, whom, after the example of his predeceſſor, he publickly owned. "That for luſt, treachery, cruelty, "rapine, and every deteſtable vice, he was "not to be equalled," is the encomium generally given of this Pope; who, when he had bleſſed the church with his rule for about eleven years, met with the reward of his crimes, drinking, thro' the miſtake of a ſervant, that poiſon, which he and his infamous ſon *Cæſar Borgia* had prepared for

1 *Alexander* 6. *omnium qui unquam fuerunt, perfidia, libinine, fævitia ſceleratiſſimus.*
Perizonii hiſt. 16. ſec. p. 9. ----
Cui non ſinceritas, non verecundia, non veritas, non fides, non religio ulla aderat. *Guiccardini*, L. 1. ----
Draco qui univerſum orbem veneno interfecerit, immoderata ambitione, horrenda crudelitate, & inuſitatæ avaritiæ exemplo, nam res ſacras pariter ac profanas ſine diſcrimine vendidit. ibid. L. 6. ----
Thuanus, L. 1. ------ *Onuphrii*, vit. *Alex.* 6. ------ *Dupin* 16 century, p. 14. *Walchs*'s hiſtory of the Popes, p. 242.
And yet this man had abilities, and ſo has every proſperous villain!

the

the benefit of ſome rich cardinals, whoſe wealth he wanted to inherit.

To him ſucceeded *Pius* the third, who reigning but for a few days, nothing remarkable is recorded of his pontificate. His place was immediately filled by the turbulent *Julius* the 2d; who, having more of a martial ſpirit than became a Pope,[1] filled his reign with a ſucceſſion of troubles. He quarrelled with the *Venetians* and with *France*; and carried his reſentments to ſuch a length, as to excommunicate *Lewis* the 12th king of *France*, and thoſe cardinals and biſhops, who, ſince his holineſs, in violation of his oath taken at his election, would not, did of themſelves ſummon a council at *Piſa*, and afterwards at *Milan*; where they formally ſuſpended him from the adminiſtration of the papacy, as contumacious, as the author of ſchiſm, incorrigible, and hardened.[2] Having governed the church with exceſſive rigour, he died amidſt his projects for ruining *France*; and left this eulogium behind him, that he was a ſanguinary prelate, who ſacrificed many thouſands to his reſtleſs martial ſpirit, and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to poſterity.[3]

1 *Bellica gloria pluſquam Pontificem deceret clarus. Onuphrii.* vit. *Jul.* 2.

2 *Dupin* Eccleſ. hiſt. 16 cent. pt. 1. p. 19.

3 *Julius* 2, *ſacrorum nundinatione & nefandis moribus infamis*

To him ſucceeded *Leo* the tenth; whoſe only praiſe was this; that he was of a noble family, a man of learning, and a favourer of learned men: but his immoralities and his profaneneſs ſullied his fame. He indulged himſelf in all the diſſolute pleaſures of life.[1] The luxuries of his court were his ſupreme paſſion: religion was out of the queſtion; he being not only ignorant of it, but ſitting looſe to it: and yet this Pope, juſtly ſuſpected for an infidel, could tamely hear himſelf complimented, in the *Lateran* council, with having divine power given unto him over every thing in heaven and earth.[2]

P. 8. And if, as Mr. *Philips* ſays, *he ſaw the happy days of learning in all their brightneſs*, he alſo felt the heat of them very ſtrong, when

P. 8, 9, 10, 11. this attention to literature, this *ardour for improvement, the cultivation of the ſciences*

infamis, bella ex bellis ferebat. Perizonius. p. 40.

Sleidan, b. 2. p. 26. *Onuphrii.* vit. *Jul.* 2. *Walch's* hiſtory of the Popes, p. 245. and his picture drawn at full length in the dialogue entitled *Julius* 2. *excluſus* inſerted in *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 600.

1 *Id unum ei datum, quod voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupiis effuſe deditus, luxui & ſplendidiſſimis conviviis muſicæque magis quam tantum pontificem deceret, totus impenderet, pecuniæ quærendæ cauſa, pretio cardinales aliquot legit & officia quædam venalia excogitavit.*

Onuphrii vit. *Leonis* X.

2 *Antoninus Puccius, apoſtolicæ Cameræ clericus, in ſynodi Lateranenſis Seſſione 9ª. Leoni tribuit divinam majeſtatem, eidemque uni omnem in cœlo & in terra tributam a Domino poteſtatem.*

Cited in *Kortholt's* hiſt. eccleſ. p. 686.

and

and Belles Lettres, and the art of printing, all contributed to the progreſs of the reformation; whoſe influence ſoon ſpread, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of the Pope and his counſellors. Their infatuated proceedings ſerved only to ſpread the doctrines they would condemn. He, like his predeceſſors, was involved in wars; and having deſerted his old ally the king of *France*, the joy upon his defeat threw him into a ſlow fever, of which he died ſoon after, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon.[1]

Upon his deceaſe ſucceeded *Adrian* the 6th, a man of a very different turn to his luxurious predeceſſor. Not enjoying the infallible chair long, he was very zealous in acknowledging the neceſſity of a reformation, but then it was only in morals or diſcipline, not in faith or doctrine; and contented himſelf with ſending out bulls and writing letters againſt *Luther* and his followers, but without giving way to any vehement or perſecuting exceſſes. His endeavouring to reform ſome abuſes in his own court, and not being ſo profuſe as his predeceſſor to the wits at *Rome, whoſe expectations he did not anſwer*, ſo far provoked them, that not content with throwing out paſquils againſt him in his life-time, they contri- P. 26.

1 *Onuph.* vit. *Leon. Walch.* p. 247. *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 285. and *Perizonius* quoted by him, p. 186. *Sleidan*, B. 3. p. 56.

buted

buted to the unfavorable judgment paſſed upon him ſince his death; tho' the more candid of his own communion have treated his memory reſpectfully.[1] Except offending the poets, who took ample revenge of him, his pontificate was memorable for little more, than an ineffectual ſtruggle to reform itſelf, and the canonization of *Benno* biſhop of *Miſnia*, a full account of which important occurrence is given by *Seckendorf*.[2]

P. 27. *Adrian* dying in about a year, *the cloud*, ſays Mr. *Philips, which had intercepted the rays of ſcience* ſoon broke off, *a ſecond Medicean pontiff ſucceeded*. An unfortunate expreſſion! ſeeing that by many he was deemed a baſtard of *Leo* the tenth's: a ſpurious offſpring being at that time no uncommon ſight at the caſtle of St. *Angelo*. *Clement* the 7th had by no means the abilities, or the ſteadineſs, proper for his exaltation, in the midſt of thoſe political alarms, and religious broils, which kept continually increaſing. He was eminent for nothing, but a timid, fickle, irreſolute, wavering conduct, and groſs violation of treaties; he was alſo a dupe to his fears; a friend and foe by turns to the Emperor, the kings of *France* and *England*. His threatening to excom-

1 *Dupin*, Eccleſ. hiſt. 16 cent. v. 1. p. 73. *Onuph.* & *Walch.*

2 *Seckendorf* hiſt. *Luth.* pt. 1. p. 285. & *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 325.

municate

municate the laſt proved the fatal blow to the papal power in *England*.

In his room was ſubſtituted *Paul* the 3d; one of the ſame ſtamp with his predeceſſors, and wholly bent upon raiſing the fortunes of his baſtards and family: but the virtues of him and of his ſucceſſor *Julius* the 3d, will be celebrated in the progreſs of this work. In *Julius*'s place, was choſen *Marcellus* the 2d; whoſe quick migration made room for his high and haughty Holineſs *Paul* the 4th, whoſe love of pomp and power was boundleſs. He fancied himſelf above princes, whom he imagined he could depoſe, and whoſe kingdoms he could give away at pleaſure. He involved *Italy* in a war; and publiſhed the firſt Index of prohibited books, that the good catholicks might receive their learning, as well as their faith, at his command. His attachment to the inquiſition is not to be wondered at: fire and faggot he knew, when reaſon failed, was a prevailing argument: he uſed to call it the principal ſecret and myſtery of papacy, the true Ram to beat down hereſy, and defend the apoſtolick See; and he had ſo much at heart the intereſt of this holy office, that he recommended it to the college of cardinals in his dying moments. When he was dead, or rather whilſt he was expiring, the people of *Rome*, exaſperated by his oppreſſions, vented their hatred in every kind

of

of inſult. But our author himſelf has favoured us with a very full account of this Pope and his character in a long note, tranſlated entirely from *Gratiani*;[1] and this impartiality we owe, in a great meaſure, to his ſquabbles with *Pole*: therefore his biographer has not ſpared his memory, any more than the people of *Rome* did his ſtatue.[2]

V. 2. p. 197 --- 204.

After him came *Pius* the 4th; a man of learning indeed, but gluttonous, intemperate, diſſembling; devoted to his pleaſures; and as much intent upon raiſing his family, as any of his pious predeceſſors. He carried his reſentment againſt the *Caraffa* family for oppoſing him in the conclave (tho' he owed them many and great obligations) to ſuch lengths of malice, violence and oppreſſion,[3] as to ruin them all. In his reign

1 *Gratiani de caſibus illuſtrium virorum*, p. 313—342.

2 *Thuanus*, B. 23. A. D. 1559. *Sleidan*'s continuation, p. 36. *Onuph. Walch*, p. 258. Father *Paul*, B. 5. p. 416. *Dupin*, 16 century, 2 v. p. 153.

3 *Novus pontifex tantum privatis commodis & caritatibus indulgebat, — & fraternæ vanitatis æmulatione nomen & inſignia Mediceæ gentis uſurpaverat . . . . Cum vero apud ſe ſtatuiſſet jure vel injuria, fraude ſive aperti vi deſideria privata explere, & ex Carafarum exitio, quos alioqui ſuæ fortunæ propitios in adipiſcenda ſumma dignitate nuper expertus fuerat, magna commoda ſperaret, ita aſtum inſtruxit eaque diſſimulatione uſus, ut ſe iis bene velle initio fingeret, &c.*

Thuanus, L. 26. A. D. 1560. See, to the ſame purpoſe, *Onuph.* vit. *Pii*, 4ti.

the

the council of *Trent* was ended: and we ſhall hereafter have frequent occaſion to mention his exploits.

Theſe great, and holy, and exemplary perſons, who obtained the papal dignity with ſuch honor to themſelves, and whoſe reigns were ſo beneficial to the intereſts of Chriſtianity, were, in the language of our Author, *the Vice-gerents of that Being, who over-rules all events, and beneath whom thoſe are bowed who uphold the world.* — P. 191.

Theſe were they, by whom for 60 years and upwards, *the majeſty of the church, and of the firſt biſhop of the Chriſtian world,* were diſplayed in the ſight of all men, to the offence, to the ſcandal, to the diſgrace of Religion and Chriſtianity. If *Luther*, who was an angel of light compared with theſe, had *his execrable intimacy with infernal inmates*; what muſt we think of theſe wretches? They ſeem to have had very familiar communication with *this ſpirit of darkneſs and lies:* they were his ſervants; they did his work; and they were rewarded by their maſter with the kingdoms of this world. If *Chriſt's Vicars*, as they are preſumptuouſly ſtyled, were guilty of ſuch foul enormities, the ſubordinate members and inferior officers of that court could not be all Saints. Many of the cardinals and biſhops were either the baſtards of Popes, or children of thoſe who were ſo. And could either P. 2.

ther piety of morals, or purity of faith, be regarded, by thoſe who openly neglected both? So avowed was this contempt of religion, that *Adrian* himſelf frankly confeſſed it, and yet never took one ſtep effectually to promote a reformation; but contented himſelf with inveighing againſt and threatening thoſe, who only laughed at and deſpiſed him for it, *Luther* and his patron the Elector *Frederick* of *Saxony*.[1] *Eraſmus*, though writing to *Barbirius* the Pope's Secretary, could not deny the truth and juſtice of *Luther*'s ſevere repreſentation of the profligacy and diſſoluteneſs of the *Roman* court.[2] He, and *Luther*, were both witneſſes of the horrid profaneneſs committed and connived at there.[3] Nay

1 *Scimus in hac ſancta ſede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuiſſe; abuſus in ſpiritualibus, exceſſus in mandatis, & omnia denique in perverſum mutata; nec mirum ſi ægritudo a capite in membra, a ſummis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos deſcenderit.* *Adrian* 6th's Inſtructions to the Nuncio at the Diet at *Norimberg* 1523. cited by *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 254. ſee alſo p. 258.

2 *Quæ Lutherus ſcripſit de tyrannide, avaritia, turpitudine Romanæ Curiæ, utinam mi Barbiri eſſent falſa*, L. 21. p. 766.

3 *Ego Romæ his auribus audivi quoſdam abominandis blaſphemiis debacchantes in Chriſtum, & in illius apoſtolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, & quidem impune, ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant ſe dicta horrenda audiſſe a quibuſdam ſacerdotibus, aulæ pontificiæ miniſtris, idque in miſſa tam clarè, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit.* *Eraſ.* Ep. *Auguſt. Steucho*, L. 26. p. 1038. *Jortin's Eraſmus*, p. 516.

The

Mr. *Philips* himſelf, the moſt unexceptionable witneſs that can be deſired in this caſe, is forced to confeſs, *that to the diſadvantages, under which Chriſtianity then laboured, the 15th century had likewiſe the misfortune to ſee moſt of the Popes during that period altogether unworthy the ſupreme place they held; and their Court, inſtead of giving that example, which the world had a right to expect from it, was infected with vices, which, like a torrent, ſpread themſelves over all nations.* [1]

The ſame obſervation was made by *Luther* when at *Rome* in 1510. who ſays, that the prieſts there could diſpatch ſeven Maſſes before he could finiſh one: and moreover, *illi non tantum præpoſtera feſtinatione properabant, ſed hæc etiam impia verba ſubjungebant*, Paſſa, Paſſa, remitte mox beatæ Virgini Filium ſuum, *item nonnullos panem & vinum hiſce verbis conſecrare ſolere*, panis es, panis manebis, vinum es, vinum manebis.

Hernſchmidii vit. *Luth.* p. 24. *Adamus* vit. *Theolog. Germ.* p. 104. *Jortin.* p. 504.

To the ſame purpoſe was *Caſtellanus*'s complaint of the ſame enormous licentiouſneſs —— *Cum pontificum Romanorum ſupinas libidines, avaritiam, & rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, ſuperbiamque Cardinalium, luxum & ignaviam, nundinationeſque cauponationes, & flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanenſium deſcriberet, & cetera quæ vidiſſet commemoraret . . . frequenter diceret ſibi eſſe perſuaſiſſimum, ne pontifices quidem Romanos, religionis & ſacrorum Antiſtites, tot ſuis, ſuorumque flagitiis ſceleribuſque contaminatos, vere & ex animo Chriſtum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis cauſa, veluti larva ad fallendum appoſite, egregie ſimulare.*

Gallandius vit. *Caſtell.* cited by Dr. *Jortin.* Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 504.

1 P. 322. where inſtead of the 15th, he probably means

From a church, whoſe ruling powers were ſo abominably corrupted, ſo loſt to every ſenſe of ſhame and decency; it was impoſſible to expect that overtures of amendment could be liſtened to at all. The bold promoters of ſuch a ſcheme, were to be deſpiſed, and treated as a ſet of miſerable miſcreants: but the matter ſoon grew too ſerious for this play. To their ſorrow they found that they were engaged with thoſe, who neither courted their favour, nor feared their frowns. From laſhing their vices, and deſpiſing their ignorance, they proceeded to attack the whole ſyſtem of their corrupted Faith. They charged them with putting the inventions of men upon a level with the word of God: they accuſed them for having introduced into the church, for gain, ſuch doctrines and cuſtoms, as were not only not warranted by, but, contrary to, both the doctrines and uſages of the firſt and pureſt ages of the church, as well as the words and intention of S S: that they had taught for doctrines of faith and ſalvation, the commandments of men; and thereby had literally made the word of God of no effect, through their traditions, which they had impiouſly made equal with the word of God.

means the 16th century. However, his teſtimony of either of theſe centuries will very readily be admitted.

This

This was the ſubſtance of the reformers charge. Which was anſwered, partly by obloquy, and loading them with harſh names, ſuch as heretics, ſchiſmatics, *&c.* and iſſuing out againſt them the ſevere threatenings of bulls and excommunication, and the ſeverer ſentence of the ſtake; and partly, by gravely haranguing on the crime of deſerting the unity of the church, and accuſing them of *advancing tenets not known in any prior, age; or if ever they were ſet on foot, were condemned, as repugnant to what antiquity had always held.* And what miſchiefs would not enſue, if they aboliſhed thoſe rules, *which all antiquity had received with reverence, and practiſed with profit?* The former part of the reply was deſpiſed by thoſe, who proceeded upon the ſole motives of conſcience. And for the latter, they averred, that to talk of the *unity of the church* was a falſe and idle pretence, if the church did not preſerve *the unity of the faith* of Chriſt pure and unſullied. And as to the clamour of *novelty* urged againſt them, they not only expreſly denied the charge; but they appealed to the SS, the uncorrupt word of God. They appealed to the Fathers of the three firſt centuries; nay, they ventured lower ſtill, they challenged the authority of the Fathers, to the end of the 6th century, in behalf of their doctrines: and more than

P. 25.

P. 442.

that, they ſhewed them the original and progreſs of their own corrupted doctrines; and, with the utmoſt accuracy and preci-
P. 3. ſion, marked the date, when, in the *iron age of ignorance and barbariſm*, they were reſpectively admitted in the church, as *articles of faith*; aſſerting, that the former ages were wholly ignorant of them, but that they came in imperceptibly, under the ſhelter of that miſt and obſcurity, in which the quibbles of ſchool divinity had involved both ſacred and profane literature.

They therefore only recalled men, to the ſtudy of the revealed will and oracles of God. They defended themſelves under this impregnable fortreſs. And when not convinced, but perſecuted, what *Luther* ſaid in his defence at the Diet of *Worms*, when ſummoned before the Emperor himſelf, and commanded to recant his writings, was common to them all — *niſi convictus fuero teſtimoniis Scripturarum, aut ratione evidente — victus ſum SS. a me adductis, captaque eſt conſcientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque poſſum, neque volo quidquam, cum contra conſcientiam agere, neque tutum ſit neque integrum.*[1] And another of theſe able and reſolute heroes, publickly and ſolemnly declared, that if they preſumed to call their doctrine a novel one, they muſt impeach the word of God of novelty too: — that they had only

1 *Acta Wormatiæ Habita. Lutheri* opera, v. 2. p. 166. ed. *Witten.*

reſtored

reſtored to thoſe ſacred truths that right to antiquity which had been long over-looked.[1] Thus they went up to the ſource and the fountain of knowledge, to *the genuine ſenſe of the SS.* And *in this manner,* to retort our biographer's words upon himſelf, *the rays of truth and diſcernment were enkindled, which then enlightened mankind, and ſtill continue to ſhine on it.* P. 10.

Our author, fond of the feigned plea of antiquity, is ever objecting to the reformation, for want of a better argument, its ſuppoſed *innovations in religion,* and *its attack upon the ancient faith,* the *faith of their anceſtors,* &c. The common language this of a foiled party! But however odious an imputation this may ſeem to carry with it at firſt, yet, when maturely weighed, it is leſs than nothing: it is attended with nothing terrifying or formidable. If error and ignorance have been placed in the ſeat of P. 26. 109. 173. 177, &c. &c.

1 *Novam quod appellant doctrinam noſtram, Deo ſunt vehementer injurii, cujus ſacrum verbum novitatis inſimulari non merebatur. Illis quidem novam eſſe minime dubito, quibus & Chriſtus novus eſt, & evangelium novum: ſed qui illam Pauli concionem veterem eſſe noverunt, Jeſum Chriſtum mortuum propter peccata noſtra, reſurrexiſſe propter Juſtificationem noſtram, nihil apud nos deprehendent novum. Quod diu incognita ſepultaque latuit, humanæ impietatis crimen eſt: nunc cum Dei benignitate nobis redditur, ſaltem poſtliminii jure ſuam antiquitatem recipere debebat.*

Calvin's preface (before his inſtitutions) to the king of *France,* p. 6. *Genev. R. Stephens,* 1559. Fol.

was loudly called for, was diſpoſed to give a favourable attention to the endeavours of thoſe who were thus zealous to correct theſe abuſes: ſo we cannot wonder, if, under ſuch able directors, truth and knowledge ſhould gain admittance into the courts of princes, and even into *His* palace, who had condeſcended to enter into the liſts, as the champion of ſinking popery; whoſe polemical merit was notably and gratefully rewarded by his Holineſs, with the title of *Defender of the Faith*; which his ſucceſſors P. 26.
have thought themſelves better entitled to, by virtue of acts of parliament, than by donation from the biſhop of *Rome*.[1] But this fit of good-nature and cordiality did not laſt long. *Henry*, not meeting afterwards with that compliance he expected from his ſucceſſor in a favorite ſcheme, broke off all connections with that ſee. It is not unlikely, but the ſlippery trick played *Wolſey*, by the Emperor's means, in the repeated diſappointment of the papacy, might alienate him from his intereſt; and not a little chagrin his maſter, who had himſelf reaſon to be perſonally offended with the Emperor.

[1] To encourage his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects to read their ſovereign's learned performance, the Pope iſſued out a bull of indulgences for the benefit of their ſouls. *Librum hunc legentibus decem annorum, & totidem quadragenarum indulgentia, apoſtolica authoritate conceſſa eſt.* *Stype*'s memorials, v. 1. p. 34.

For

For ſome years, *Charles* the 5th had found it neceſſary to court the friendſhip of the king of *England*. In one of his expeditions here for that purpoſe, we are told, that he was ſolemnly contracted in perſon to the princeſs *Mary*, *per verba de præſenti*, under pain of excommunication, and the penalty of a very conſiderable forfeit.[1] His affairs however ſoon after becoming more and more favourable to him, not content with barely breaking off the match, he did it with a ſlur upon the lady's honor; becauſe his *Cortez* or council ſaid ſhe was *illegitimate*, as being born in an unlawful marriage,[2] by One who had been wife to his elder brother. This publick affront, with another of the ſame ſort urged by the king of *France*'s ambaſſador, revived thoſe objections, which *Henry* had himſelf, at the beginning, made againſt the legality of his marriage:[3] and it does not appear, that he ever cordially acquieſced in it, farther

1 *Le-Grand*, v. 1. p. 63. *Godwin*'s annals, p. 34. A. D. 1524. *Carte*, v, 3. p. 48. and Lord *Herbert*, p. 315. who ſays, from *Bellay*, that the King of *France*, (who had been priſoner in *Spain*, ever ſince the battle of *Pavia*) paid this forfeit for the Emperor, as part of his ranſom.

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 5. *Heylin*'s hiſt. of queen *Mary*, p. 3. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 80, 83. But *Burnet* afterwards, ſays, that *Henry*, at the Emperor's requeſt, gave him a diſcharge, in full form, of his obligations to marry the princeſs, without taking any notice of the objections againſt the legality of her mother's marriage. Hiſt. ref. v. 3. p. 33.

than

than *Catharine*'s good behaviour, and the Pope's diſpenſation, had quieted his conſcience. It is unjuſt and cruel therefore, to lay the riſe of *the divorce* upon *Wolſey* and ſay, it *was ſet on foot by* his *revengeful ſpirit*. P. 28.

If any ſtreſs is to be laid upon *Grynæus*'s letter to *Bucer*, *Henry*'s fears and ſcruples had diſquieted him long before any publick notice had been taken of them.[1] The marriage with *Spain* being broke off, a treaty of the ſame nature was propoſed between the princeſs *Mary* and a Son of the King of *France*; which was refuſed, "till "it were known whether ſhe be the King "of *England*'s lawful daughter or not, for "well known it is, that he begat her on his "brother's wife, which is directly againſt "God's law and his precept."[2] This objection was ſtarted by the biſhop of *Tarbes*, who was the *French* ambaſſador at our court, and was in that capacity two years before in *Spain*, treating for his Sovereign's ranſom, at the very time that the *Cortez* of *Toledo* were ſitting which prevailed upon the Emperor to break off the match with *Eng-*

1 In the year 1531. the king declared to *Grynæus*, that for ſeven years he had abſtained from the queen upon account of his ſcruples. So that the king muſt have had them ſo early as 1524.

Grynæus's letter to *Bucer* referred to by *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 38.

2 *Stowe*, p. 541, & 543. *Herbert*, p. 244.

land;

land; and therefore the biſhop muſt know their reaſons for it, and what paſſed in the *Cortez*.[1] Since therefore *Catherine*'s own family, and the King of *France* (who, in his preſent condition, could not ſubſiſt without *Henry*'s friendſhip, and had lately received the higheſt obligations from him)[2] objected to, or queſtioned, the validity of his marriage; the King himſelf had ſufficient motives to be alarmed, and might well be anxious about the ſucceeſſion to his crown. He could not but recollect, as well his own reluctance, as that his father had made him ſign a notarial act proteſting againſt it, and renouncing the contract made in his minority.[3] In purſuance of this act, he waved the conſummation of the marriage, from one time to another, till after his father's death; and then, for political more than religious reaſons, ſubmitted to the determination of the majority of his council. Such circumſtances could never be entirely forgotten: they might be ſuppreſſed for a time: but if ever they came to be agitated again, they muſt burſt out with greater violence; which we ſhall ſhortly find they did.

The mention of this buſineſs of the divorce, and *Pole*'s arrival in *England*, gives our author an opportunity of entertaining

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84.
2 *Herbert*, p. 315.
3 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 3. *Heylin's* hiſtory of *Mary*, p. 2. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 36.

his

his readers, with a motley character of *Henry*. He expatiates ſo much at firſt upon his good qualities, that one would be tempted to think he was writing a panegyrick: but it is only to wound the deeper; that, like his hero *Pole*, he may give the keener edge to his invectives, by a plauſible impartiality. But this uncommon candour and good-nature does not laſt long; and is ſucceeded by a torrent of the moſt ſcurrilous and implacable rancour, which ends not even with his life. How far *Henry* really deſerved this very injurious treatment, will be better ſeen, when our hiſtorian brings us to the cloſe of his life. We will leave him, in the mean time, in full poſſeſſion of the favourable character here beſtowed upon him. P. 29, &c.

Now the great Cauſe of the Divorce began to be more publickly debated, as the legality of the marriage depended ſolely upon the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation; which was thought to be above every thing, and inconteſtably admitted, as coming from *that tribunal, to which cauſes of ſuch importance were wont to be referred.* Nothing for many years had been ſaid againſt it. But the papal power was now called in queſtion: and that the Biſhop of *Rome* could not diſpenſe with any of the poſitive laws of God, or enable Chriſtians to violate them, was one of the firſt benefits accruing from the promoters P. 59.

of

of the reformation. If an action was sinful, they averred, the Pope could not not make it virtuous, or innocent. This advantage therefore *Henry*, tho' averse to their doctrines, reaped from the reformers; not to think so highly, as formerly, of the Pope's omnipotency. But yet willing to have his sanction, he layed his pleas before him; he urged the tenderness of an awakened scrupulous conscience; he desired redress from that court, that a dispensation granted, upon false suggestions, without his consent or knowledge,[1] might not remain in full force to the detriment of himself and his kingdom, but be set aside by the same authority from whence it received all its force and sanction.

To assert that *Henry*, in this appeal, acted only from lust and resentment, or satiety, is uttering a cruel and unjustifiable censure against him; and what his behaviour to *Catherine* sufficiently contradicted. He never was personally rude or boisterous to her, but ever spoke respectfully of her: and the church-historian, Mr. *Dod*, always bitter enough against him, is forced to acknowledge (though he does it with an ill grace) *that there are indeed some remote circumstances of conscience which plead in his favour.*[2]

1 *Collier*'s eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 25. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 86.

2 *Dod*'s church history, v. 1. p. 72.

Mr.

Mr. *Philips* pronounces, that *the earlieſt* P. 38.
document which remains of theſe proceedings, is a letter of Secretary Pace to the King, in which he informs him, that he had treated with Dr. Wakefield of the Divorce, and that the Doctor was ready to reſolve the Queſtion, either in the negative or affirmative, juſt as the King thought proper. . . . This letter, ſays he, *is dated in* 1526, *and, to Wakefield's eternal infamy, is ſtill extant.*[1] — But to his own infamy and confuſion, all that he here aſſerts is falſe and baſely ſcandalous. He had *Burnet*'s 3d vol. of the hiſtory of the reformation before him, and might have learnt better from it.[2] But whether he conſulted it at all; or, if he did, whether his care or his integrity failed him, I leave to his own conſcience, and the reader's judgment, to determine. *Pace*'s letter is indeed extant; and a very honeſt one it is. As the biſhop truly obſerves, it contains nothing, but what is honourable for the King, for himſelf, and for his friend. He informs the King, that he had talked with *Wakefield*, whom he found willing to examine and diſcuſs the cauſe, if he could certainly know, *Whether your Grace wolde be contente to here the trouthe in this matter, whether it were ayenſte you or for you*; and if he was commanded, *He wolde undoubtydly*

1 *Le Grand*, tom. 3. page 1. --- cited by Mr. *Philips*.
2 *Burnet*'s Introduction to the 3d vol. Ref. p. iv, v. and hiſtory, p. 36.

ſhewe

ſhewe unto your Hyghneſs ſuch thynges, as no man within your realme can atteyne unto or ſhew the like and as well for you as againſt you. Theſe are his words: and theſe are the only paſſages in the whole letter, that could poſſibly give occaſion to *Le Grand*'s wicked calumny;[1] which Mr. *Philips* hath adopted, and muſt therefore anſwer for. Inveterate malice alone can diſcover a ſingle circumſtance in it, that can caſt a ſtain upon *Wakefield*'s memory; or ſhew *that he was ready to reſolve the Queſtion, either in the negative or affirmative, juſt as the King ſhould think proper.*

P. 38

A letter of *Wakefield* to the King, on the ſame occaſion, and written at the ſame time, is alſo extant. This, neither *Burnet*, nor *Le-Grand*, ever ſaw: but Mr. *Philips* himſelf might have ſeen it; as it is to be met with in the appendix of ſo well known a book, as *Knight*'s life of *Eraſmus*. *Wakefield* in this letter tells the King, *that he woll and can defende his cauſe or Queſtion in all the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, by the authority of ſcripture, of the beſt Interpreters of the Hebrews, and of the holy Doctors, both Greeks and Latins in Chriſt's Faythe.* He adds, *I have and wol in ſuche maner anſwer to the Biſhop of Rocheſter's booke, that I truſte he ſhall be aſhamy'd to waade or meddyll any further in the matter.*[2]

1 *Le Grand.* hiſt. du divorce, v. 1. p. 46.

2 *Pace*, and *Wakefield*'s letters are both inſerted in the

It muſt be obſerved, that neither of theſe letters was written in 1526, but both in 1527, in which year the biſhops had actually entered into a publick examination of the validity of the marriage.[1] Probably therefore *Pace*'s letter is not the *earlieſt document* (as 'tis called) *which remains of this proceeding*. That it is not ſo in fact, is moſt evident from hence. *Pace*'s and *Wakefield*'s letters were plainly written nearly at the ſame time; but in the latter, mention is made of *Fiſher*'s book, and of an anſwer to it then in ſome forwardneſs: therefore *Fiſher*'s book is an earlier document than *Pace*'s. *Wakefield* had indeed altered his opinion of this matter; and took up the pen in behalf of the King's cauſe, for a very cogent and defenſible reaſon, becauſe he was now perſuaded, that the marriage with *Arthur* was indeed conſummated. A reaſon deemed ſo ſtrong, that *Bellay* declared, and to *Campegio* himſelf, that if the conſummation could be proved, neither the Pope, nor cardinals, could maintain the validity of the diſpenſation. And all the anſwer the legate himſelf could make, was this weak reply, "that tho' his reaſoning "was invincible, yet his own was ſupport-

the appendix to Dr. *Knight's* Life of *Eraſmus*. N°. 8, and 9. p. xxv, and xxviii. See more of *Pace* in *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. 1. p. 29. and of *Wakefield*. ibid. p. 64.

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 24.

"able;

"able; becauſe to plead the Pope could not "diſpenſe, would be to ſubvert the papal "power which was unlimited;[1] and it "was, in his opinion, better to ſay, the "diſpenſation was granted upon falſe ſug-"geſtions, than to fall into the latter incon-"venience."[2]

It is of very little importance to enquire, whether *Wolſey* himſelf firſt, or *Longland* the King's confeſſor, by his inſtigation, as
P. 38. is here affirmed from *Saunders*,[3] *moved this doubt to the King*, Certain it is, the King, in his ſpeech to the legates, at the court at *Black-Friers*, he publickly exculpated them both from this accuſation; and "de-"clared his ſcruple to have ariſen from "the biſhop of *Bayon*'s objections to the "legitimacy of his daughter *Mary*. That "when, after that, he perceived his con-"ſcience ſo doubtful, he moved it in "confeſſion to biſhop *Longland* then his "ghoſtly father."[4] And this is confirmed in a MS. life of Sir *Thomas More*, wrote not many years after *Longland*'s death; in which it is ſaid, "that the biſhop being told what "rumour ran, that the very truth might "be known of him, anſwered, that in very

1 *Bellay's* diſpatches. *Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 196. and p. 216. cited in *Carte*'s hiſtory, v. 3. p. 92.
2 *Bellay. Le Grand*, v. 3. p. 217.
3 *Saunders de Schiſmate Anglic.* p. 10. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 37.
4 *Stow*'s Annals, p. 542, 543.

"deed

"deed, he did not break the matter after "that ſort as is ſaid; but the King brake "the matter to him firſt, and never left "urging him, until he had won him to "give his conſent." So that if any credit be given to this, or the King's ſolemn affirmation, the doubt was firſt moved by himſelf.

Whilſt this affair was ſo deeply canvaſſed, *Pole*, who was then in *England*, that he might not be involved in theſe contentions, retired to an houſe in the *Carthuſian* monaſtery at *Shene*, where he lived in ſo retired and quiet a manner, that ſince no materials or anecdotes could be produced to illuſtrate this part of his life; our Biographer, following *Quirini*'s ſteps,[2] deſcants upon the praiſes of the *excellent Dean Colet*, who P. 46. built the houſe in which *Pole* lived during this retirement. He tells us, that the Dean *was very converſant in the writings of the Fathers, and particularly in the holy Scriptures, of which the commentaries he has left are*

1 Corrections of the two firſt volumes of the Reformation, ſuppoſed to be written by the learned Mr. *Baker* of *Cambridge* from a MS. Coll. *Eman. Cant.* *Burnet*, 3 vol. Ref. appendix, p. 744.

2 *Quoniam vero ejus (in Anglia) biennii ſtudiis illuſtrandis, ne unas quidem literas ſeu Poli ad alios, ſeu aliorum ad ipſum, nacti ſumus, quas proferamus, pauca quædam earum loco, de Johanne Coleto, ejuſque ædibus, necnon de Britannicæ Literaturæ ſtatu, qui Polo in Patriam reduci ſeſe obtulit, trademus.* V. 1. p. 230.

an

an abundant proof. *Colet* was indeed a truly reſpectable and amiable character: and the world would be much obliged to Mr. *Philips*, if he would communicate the *commentaries above mentioned*; for what comes from *Colet*'s pen muſt be excellent. But the misfortune is, thoſe who knew him better and perſonally have lamented, that the Dean could not be prevailed upon to publiſh any thing, his modeſty being as great as his learning: [1] for except the rudiments of grammar, and his famous convocation Sermon, there is nothing of his extant.

In the liſt of *Colet*'s writings, as drawn up in *Wood*'s *Athenæ Oxon.* [2] and the *Biographia Britannica*, there are many titles

1 *Cum enim eſſet a natura & eruditione facundus, ac dicenti mira ſuppeteret orationis ubertas, tamen ſcribens ſubinde labebatur in his quæ ſolent notare critici.* Atque hac ni fallor gratia a libris ſcribendis abſtinebat, *atque* utinam non abſtinuiſſet; *nam hujus viri cogitationes quacunque etiam lingua proditas optarim.*

Eraſmus Jodoc. Jonæ Erphordienſi, L. 15. p. 480. See the whole of this very remarkable letter in *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 310.

To the ſame purpoſe, *Geo. Lilly*, ſon of the famous grammarian *William Lilly*, the firſt maſter of the Dean's ſchool, and his moſt intimate friend, ſays of him, *nihil autem quod extat in ſcriptis reliquit, nec multo eum ſcripſiſſe conſtat.*

Virorum aliquot in Britannia Elogia, 1559. 8*vo.* cited in *Knight*'s life of *Colet*, p. 252. ſee alſo p. 196, 197.

2 *Wood*'s *Athenæ*, 2d edit. v. 1. p. 12, 13. *Biog. Brit. (Colet)* p. 1405.

of

of MSS. mentioned, ſome of which are preſerved in the libraries at *Cambridge*, but written, ſays *Wood*, ſo that few underſtood them. In his will indeed, *he leaves his MSS. in* Parchment, *as comments on* Paul's *epiſtles and abbreviations with many ſuch other to his executor's diſpoſition.*[1] But none of theſe have ever been publiſhed: nor does there appear, in the only fair legible MSS. of his preſerved in Dr. *Gale's* collection,[2] or in his will, the leaſt tincture of popery. We cannot therefore help expreſſing our admiration, how our writer ſhould ſo far forget himſelf, as to ſpeak ſo favourably of *Colet*; who had got much above the prejudices of his times. He had a liberal, a ſolid, and an enlarged way of thinking; and was rather more open in expreſſing his abhorrence of the ſuperſtition and foppery of the *Romiſh* church, than even *Eraſmus* himſelf thought was conſiſtent with prudence. For *Eraſmus* in his treatiſe *de modo orandi Deum*, cenſuring the miſtaken Invocation of Saints, and the expoſing their relicks, tells us, "that he and the dean being joint "ſpectators of the greaſy relicks of *Thomas* "*a Becket*, *Colet* could not refrain expreſs-"ing his indignation at this great inſtance

1 *Knight*, p. 466.
2 *Knight's* Introduction to his life, p. VIII.

"of religious folly." [1] His thorough good ſenſe had emancipated him from the jargon of the ſchools, and the theology of the times: and had his life been ſpared a few years longer, his piety, learning and activity, would have placed him at the head of the reformers of his own country.

1 *In Anglia offerunt oſculandum calceum divi Thomæ quondam Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis qui forte calceus eſt alicujus Balatronis . . . vidi ipſe, cum oſtentarent linteola lacera, quibus vir ille dicitur abſterſiſſe muccum narium, abbatem & cæteros qui aſtabant aperto Scriniolo venerabundos procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam ſublatis, adorationem geſtu repræſentare. Iſta Johanni Coleto, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna, & mihi ferenda videbantur, donec ſe daret opportunitas, ea citra tumultum corrigendi.* *Eraſ. modus orandi Deum*, p. 90. ed. *Leyden*, 24°. 1641.

In his dialogue *de Peregrinatione Religionis ergo*, he gives a fuller and more particular account of the Dean's holy warmth at ſuch ſuperſtitious and offenſive fopperies, under the feigned name of *Gratianus Pullus*; whoſe free remarks aſtoniſhed the monks, and made *Eraſmus* tremble. For the prior of the *Auguſtinian* monaſtery at *Canterbury*, offering to theſe two ſtrangers a bleſſed clout of that precious Saint to be kiſſed, *Gratianus heic parum gratus, non ſine faſtidii ſignificatione, digitis correctavit unum, & contemtim repoſuit, porrectis labiis, veluti Poppiſmum imitans; nam hic illi mos erat, ſi quid offenderet, quod tamen contemnendum eſſe judicaret. Meum animum ſimul & pudor, & timor diſcruciabant. Gratianus Pullus* (who is ſaid in this dialogue to be *& Anglus, & notus, nec mediocris authoritatis vir*) and *Colet*, muſt be the ſame, from the ſimilarity of the circumſtances.

Eraſ. Dial. *Per. Rel. ergo.* Ed. var. p. 441. See this confirmed by Dr. *Jortin.* Life of *Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 706.

We

We are assured from the best authority, that he dissented greatly from many of the received religious opinions of the times; and, as he never attempted to conceal or disguise his dislike of them, would in private be very open in expressing his sentiments. Monkery and its state was the frequent object of his avowed contempt. He was a diligent reader of heretical books; and made no scruple to declare, that he learned more from them, than from those dogmatical writers, who only flattered themselves, and the heads of their own party.[1] These free sentiments created him such trouble, that very hardly his body living, or dead, could escape the fire.[2]

Such was the excellent spirit of Dean *Colet*, one of the forerunners of the reformation: and we can hardly think, that Mr. *Phillips* was aware of the contents of that letter of *Erasmus* to which he so obligingly

1 *Opinionibus a vulgo multum dissidebat, sed mira prudentia hac in re sese attemperabat aliis . . . inter amicos ac doctos liberrimè profitebatur, quid sentiret. ---- erga monasteria, quæ nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus. --- Nullus erat liber tam hæreticus, quem ille non attente evolveret, dicens se plus aliquotiens ex illis capere fructus, quam ex horum libris, qui sic omnia definiunt, ut frequenter adulentur Coryphæis, nonnunquam & sibi ipsis.*

Eras. ep. *Jodoc. Jonæ*, L. 15, p. 480, ed *Basil. Froben.*

2 *Knight*'s life of *Colet*, p. 86 ---- 94.

P. 47. referred us for the *ſketch of his friend's life*. But meeting in *Quirini* with the quotation of the note, ſaid by the cardinal to be an extract from EPISTLE 435, and wrote to *Juſtus Jonas* of ERFURT, 'our haſty, ignorant, blundering tranſcriber boldly puts *Jonas* down for *Biſhop of* HEREFORD; and refers to the book of *Eraſmus*'s epiſtles PAGE 435, not conſidering, how many free ſtrictures there are in that memorable letter, againſt ſome of the doctrines and cuſtoms of his own church.

Whilſt *Pole* was purſuing his ſtudies in the Dean's lodgings, the affair of the divorce was proſecuted with great ardour, and laid before the *Court of Rome*, which,
P. 51. ſays Mr. *Phillips*, *had carried her condeſcention to Henry as far as even the appearances of equity would allow*. The Pope was then but in bad plight, having lately fled from *Rome*, where he had been beſieged by the Imperialiſts; and with great difficulty, and in diſguiſe, had reached *Orvieto*, when *Henry*'s ambaſſadors were introduced to his frighted and diſcomfited Holineſs. They ſoon found, that he was as much a captive there, and in awe of the Emperor, as when beſieged by him in the caſtle of St. *Angelo* --

1 *Eidem (ſc. Coleto) quodammodo parentavit in* Epiſt. 435. *idque ut Jodocæ Jonæ* ERFORDIENSI *ſatisfaceret.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 231.

aliqua

aliqua mutatio ſoli, (as they expreſs it) *ſed nulla libertatis*. Their very full and ſatisfactory diſpatches to *Wolſey* repreſent him in the utmoſt panick, not venturing to ſpeak out; ſometimes giving them hopes of yielding to their deſires; ſometimes warily protracting the debates. One frank acknowledgment however be made, which was, "he was not learned; and to ſay truth al-"beit it were a ſaying in the law, that "*Pontifex habet omnia jura in ſcrinio pecto-*"*ris*, yet God never gave him the key to "open *illud ſcrinium*." [1]

The Pope did indeed, at the ambaſſadors requeſt, grant a decretal bull, to confirm what the legates ſhould determine, and thereby make their ſentence irrevocable; but it was upon the ſtricteſt aſſurances of ſecrecy, that it ſhould be communicated to *none* but the King and *Wolſey*, and that very privately: however his fears returned, and his heart ſoon miſgave him for this conceſſion; for the Emperor being maſter of *Italy*, he ordered *Campegio* to burn it. But afterwards, by *Gardiner*'s importunity he ſigned a promiſe or *pollicitation* as it was called, not to revoke the commiſſion grant-

1 The King's ambaſſador's letter to *Wolſey*, in *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. hiſt. p. 91. and 101. Records, p. 46. and 62.

ed

ed to the legates, but to ratify their decrees, which ſhould be final. [1]

P. 51. Mr. *Philips* ſeems to confound theſe two bulls together. The decretal one, was burnt by *Campegio*. [2] But the other is ſtill extant in our records. [3] And lord *Herbert*, tho' he ſpeaks doubtfully of it, yet adds, "that "as divers original diſpatches both before "and after, give ſome touches of it; ſo it "may challenge better credit than to be "thought a minute, and much leſs a coun- "terfeit and ſuppoſed piece, which is alſo "the more probable, in that the Pope "granted ampler teſtimonies than this in "favour of the divorce." [4] Mr. *Philips* endeavours to ſet this aſide, which he calls

P. 52. Note. *the conjecture of this nobleman*, from *the ſtyle in which the Pope, ſoon after, wrote to his legates*. But this is no reaſon: for the Pope was ever irreſolute, ſhuffling backwards and forwards, juſt as he was awed by the Em-

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 91. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 58. and 66. Records, p. 40. and 41. *&c.*

2 There was however a copy of it taken, and it is inſerted at the end of *Anti-Sanderus*, p. 200, of which the author ſays, *tabulæ illæ tanta ſolertia cuſtodiebantur, ut non in multorum manus exiverint, noſtras tamen (uti fit) non evaſerunt*, p. 15. See alſo *Strype's* life of Arch-bp *Parker*, p. 382, 383. *Herbert*, p. 279, who took it from *Anti-Sanderus*, and ſays, that he met, in our archives, ſome diſpatches that make it *probable*.

3 *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 362. *Herbert*, p. 249.

4 *Herbert*, p. 248.

peror,

peror, in whoſe power he was; or, as he might have cauſe to apprehend the King of *England*'s defection (who began openly to cenſure him for his dilatory, fickle conduct)[1] if his requeſts were not complied with. *Burnet* indeed ſays, "that lord *Her-*
"*bert* ſeemed in ſome doubt concerning it,
"but," he adds, "probably he had not ſeen
"the letter that *Wolſey* wrote to *Gardiner*,
"in which he mentions the *Pollicitation*,
"that he had in his hands, with ſeveral
"other letters, that mention it very fre-
"quently."[2]

Campegio, the other, long-expected, legate, being at laſt arrived, after a delay of ſix months from the time of his appointment; though he opened his commiſſion, ſoon after his arrival, yet he managed it with the ſame affected delays, which had procraſtinated his arrival, agreeably to the Pope's injunctions. But we are told, freſh ambaſſadors were ſent to *Rome upon a moſt* P. 53
extraordinary commiſſion, . . . to aſk the Pope, as of their own motion, to permit the King to marry again, in caſe the Queen entered on a monaſtic life. What the overtures were, are related by *Burnet*:[3] and what *Vannes* was to ſay, as of himſelf, was, to lay be-

1 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. p. 108.
2 *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 37.
3 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 60. and alſo more fully by *Collier*, v. 2. p. 29.

fore

fore the Pope ſeriouſly, the ill conſequences of any ungrateful behaviour to the King, if his Holineſs, for partial reſpects and fears, ſhould refuſe the King's deſires.[1] And, if their inſtructions were as here maintained, they did not differ from his Holineſs's own opinion. For *Sanders*, whoſe authority Mr. *Philips* will not object to, relates, that upon a warm remonſtrance from the Emperor, againſt hearing the cauſe in *England*, the Pope ſent four meſſengers after *Campegio*, who was then upon his Journey, charging him to proceed as ſlowly as poſſible; to endeavour to reconcile the King and Queen; and, if that could not be effected, "*then to try to perſuade her to take on* "*her the religious ſtate:* if neither of theſe "could be brought about, not to preſume "to give any definitive ſentence, without "freſh and expreſs commandment from "himſelf."[2]

When the hearing of the cauſe came on, *the Queen*, ſays Mr. *Philips*, *produced the original diſpenſation from Spain, the genuineneſs of which her managers ſufficiently proved.* Our writer is one of thoſe, who think little more is requiſite to eſtabliſh truth, than a bold and preſumptuous affirmation. This diſpenſation here produced was the famous

P. 54.

1 Ibid. See the Inſtructions. Records, p. 47.
2 *Sanders* de ſchiſmate, p. 32. *Herbert*, p. 252.

Breve

Breve of *Julius* 2d, contrived to remedy the defects of a former bull, by allowing the 2d marriage with *Henry, tho' the former with Arthur had been consummated*; to which many strong objections were made. That it appeared not in the records either of *England* or *Spain*, but was said to be found amongst the papers of the *Spanish* ambassador *de Puebla*, who was here at the concluding of the match: that many names were falsly written: that it bore date the very same day that the bull was granted: and that it allowed the consummation, which the Queen herself denied.[1] So that it was looked upon as a forgery; and the Queen's proctors made no reply.

The Queen indeed did aver she came *a virgin to Henry's bed.* This will but ill a- P. 55.
gree with what *Burnet* relates, "that the "*Spanish* ambassador, had by his master's "orders, taken proofs of the consumma- "tion of her marriage with *Arthur*, and "sent them into *Spain.*[2]" And the King, in a minute sent to his ambassador at *Rome*, orders him to acquaint his Holiness, "that "when the dispensation for the marriage "between him and *Catherine* was obtained, "a league was renewed and concluded be-

1 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 68. Records, p. 67. *Herbert*, p. 264, 269. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 93.
2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 35.

"tween

"tween their parents the Kings of *Eng-*
"*land* and *Spain*. In which league is
"alſo plainly mentioned and expreſſed in
"two places thereof, that the marriage be-
"tween our ſaid brother and her was ſo-
"lemnized and perfectly conſummated."[1]
The preſumption is certainly againſt her: and either ſhe, or Prince *Arthur*, muſt have maintained a falſhood; the one out of vanity, the other from intereſt. For there were as full and clear proofs of the conſummation, as an affair of ſo ſecret a nature would allow, and what is every where admitted as ſufficient evidence: and
P. 57. though *the witneſſes* are here ſaid to be *garbled*; they were ſuch as, from their rank and ſtation at court, were privy to thoſe tranſactions, and well acquainted with all the particulars.[2] Abundantly ſufficient are they to confute the ridiculous fiction invented by *Sanders*, of an ancient grave matron being in the ſame bed with *Arthur* and *Catherine*, to prevent conſummation. Neither did *Catherine*'s managers attempt to invalidate the teſtimony of any one of the witneſſes. And moreover, if *Catherine* was ſo ſure of her coming a *virgin* to *Henry*'s bed, why did ſhe keep the court and

1 *Burnet*, 3. v. Ref. hiſt. p. 86. Records, p. 391. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 119. citing *Rymer*, v. 14, p. 448.
2 *Herbert*, p. 270.

king-

kingdom in ſuch ſuſpence after *Arthur*'s deceaſe? that it was ſix months after that event, before *Henry* took the title of Prince of *Wales*, that it might be known whether ſhe was pregnant or no; "*Arthur* being "upon the point of 16 years of age when "he died, and forward and able in body."[1] And as ſhe herſelf, for the better ſecurity of her latter marriage, got the ſuppoſed 2d bull with the clauſe *(vel forſan cognitam)* which was not in the former, inſerted; it renders this her affirmation the more ſuſpicious, and liable to invincible objections.

When theſe evidences were gone through, and the final determination eagerly expected, *Campegio prorogued the Court:* which abrupt tranſaction was owing to the Pope's having, at the requeſt of the Emperor, revoked the cauſe to *Rome*; peace being lately made between them. And but for this, it is very likely, the legates would have determined the cauſe in the King's favour; having lately ſent his Holineſs a memorable diſpatch, wherein they ſhew themſelves inclinable to ſatisfy the king, and "repreſent "the bad conſequences of a refuſal. They "confeſs the impolitic behaviour of the "queen: they complained, that whereas "other Popes had made no ſcruple to make "and change divine laws at their pleaſure; P. 57.

1 *Bacon's* hiſt. of *Hen.* 7, p. 118.

"yet

"yet one Pope ſticks ſo much at the re-
"pealing what his predeceſſor did, as if that
"were more ſacred, and not to be meddled
"with." [1] But no remonſtrances could avail: and the Pope, in obedience to the Emperor, revoked the cauſe to himſelf; which, and with great reaſon, irritated *Henry* much, and haſtened thoſe legal parliamentary proceedings, by which the Pope's power in *England* was abrogated. But his Holineſs was under a conſtant dread of the Emperor, who kept a rod continually over his head: and himſelf knew, ſhould any rigid enquiry be ever made into his own election to the papacy, upon how precarious a footing he held the infallible chair. His legitimate birth was much queſtioned: and cardinal *Colonna*, a creature of the Emperor, had got a note from him, promiſing him preferment, in caſe he ſhould, by his aſſiſtance, get the papacy; and this he every now and then, to awe him, threatened to produce. [2]

Thus ended, without any deciſion, the legates commiſſion. [3] The Pope taking the

1 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 68, 69. Records, p. 67.

2 Father *Paul*'s hiſt. of the council of *Trent*, B. 1. p. 42. *Eng.* edit. and *Courayer's Fr.* ed. v. 1. p. 65. note. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 83.

3 For a ſuccinct account of the legates proceedings, conſult *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 46. See alſo very full and particular extracts from *Bellay*'s diſpatches in the ſame vol. p. 39, 42, 49, 54, &c. relating to the divorce, taken

determination of this affair entirely to himſelf, *Henry* having already experienced his timidity, diſſimulation and partiality, refuſed to ſtand to the award of ſo manageable a judge, but appealing from him, he referred the conſideration of his caſe to the free and impartial examination of the learned in *the moſt celebrated univerſities*. It is indeed P. 59. to be feared, that, in this, as in all caſes, carried on with violence and heat, the managers might not always conduct themſelves with that attention to order and decorum, which calm and unconcerned poſterity would juſtify and approve. That *Henry* might not occaſionally exert ſome undue *pecuniary influences*, over particular univerſities or perſons, cannot perhaps be abſolutely denied: but the ſame was done, and with greater profuſion, by the friends of the oppoſite party. *Cæſar*, ſays *Croke*, *minis, precibus, pretio, & Sacerdotiis, partim territat noſtros, partim confirmat ſuos.*[1] Whereas he, who was one of the buſieſt and ableſt of the king's agents abroad, declares and proteſts, "he never gave nor

ken from *Le-Grand*, v. 3. and much more intereſting, than the trifling extracts about the ſweating ſickneſs referred to by Mr. *Philips*, p. 48 --- 50. but as they confirm and eſtabliſh the narration of that tranſaction given us by our own hiſtorians, they were, for that reaſon undoubtedly, omitted by our impartial biographer.

1 *Herbert*, p. 329.

"pro-

"promiſed any Divine any thing, till he "had firſt freely written his mind, and what "he then gave, was rather an honourable "preſent than a reward: and there is a bill "of his accounts yet extant, whereby his "gifts appear plainly to be nothing more "than ſmall acknowledgments: ſo that it "was ſaid at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote "for the King had but a few crowns a-"piece, and they who wrote on the other "ſide had good benefices." [1] The univerſities of *Bononia* and *Padua* refuſed the offer of money with theſe words, *quod a Spiritu ſancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur.* [2] In the latter place, the King's cauſe was earneſtly ſupported by *Leonicus*, *Pole*'s great friend, mentioned before with ſo much honour; who was very inſtrumental in deviſing the inſtrument of that univerſity in corroboration of the King's cauſe. [3] And if all theſe learned men were bribed, and were ſo ſhamefully proſtitute, as for a few crowns to contradict their honour and conſciences, let Mr. *Philips* make the beſt apology he can for them. They were found members of his communion: and if they had neither the fear of God, or the Pope, before their eyes, we cannot

P. 15.

1 Ibid. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 90.

2 *Herbert*, p. 329.

3 *Burnet*, v. 1. Records, p. 88. *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. p. 143. Append. p. 106.

help

help it. Only gentler words and ſome proof may be expected, when cenſures ſo ſevere are paſſed. [1]

He has indeed vouchſafed ſome commendation to the *proteſtant divines*, [2] for their upright acting in this matter: and it was very much to their honour, that the divorce met no where with greater difficulty or oppoſition, than amongſt them. [3] There is an earneſt letter of *Luther* extant, (as every thing he wrote is ſo) to *Barnes* the King's agent in *Germany*, vehemently diſſuading the divorce; and if nothing elſe would do, that rather than approve of it, he would recommend it to the king to take two wives: and in this opinion, this grand hereſiarch hit upon the ſame expedient, which his Holineſs himſelf had propoſed to the King's ambaſſador at *Rome*. [4] P. 59.

1 The Determinations of the univerſities, *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 87 ---- 91. Records, p. 89 ---- 94.

2 In a quotation from *Larrey* taken from *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 240.

3 All the *Lutherans* be utterly againſt your highneſs in this cauſe, and have letted as much with their wretched power, malice, without reaſon or authority as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no ſmall companies of them.

Croke to the King, *Burnet*. v. 1. Records, p. 88.

4 *Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius Regi permitterem, alteram Reginam quoque ducere, & exemplo Patrum & Regum duas ſimul uxores, ſeu Reginas habere.*

Lutherus Antonio Amario Anglo, (for ſo *Barnes* was called in *Germany*) in col. ep. *Halæ*, 4^to^. 1717. p. 289.

Supe-

Amongſt thoſe, whom *Henry* employed abroad to ſollicit his cauſe, he ordered his kinſman and penſioner *Pole*, to ſollicit his cauſe at *Paris*. A moſt ungrateful and diſagreable commiſſion; and which could not but give him great uneaſineſs: for he ſeems very early to have acted an open and a fair part, and from the beginning to have publickly oppoſed meaſures he could not approve. The faithful and accurate Mr. *Strype* has taken notice of a circumſtance omitted by other hiſtorians, which is, that ſo early as 1530, he put into the King's hands a diſſuaſive from his attempt, which was delivered to *Cranmer* for his examination of it; who acknowledged, "the goodly elo-"quence of it, both of words and ſentence. "The intent of it was to perſuade the "King, upon merely political motives, to "commit his great cauſe to the judgement "of the Pope, wherein, ſays *Cranmer*, me "ſeemeth he lacketh much judgement."[1] It was, afterwards in another form, work'd up and inſerted in his famous treatiſe *de unitate eccleſiaſtica*.

Superioribus diebus, pontifex ſecreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proponit conditionem hujuſmodi, concedi poſſe, veſtræ majeſtati, ut duas uxores habeat. *Herbert*, p. 330. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 107.

1 *Strype*'s Life of *Cranmer*, p. 6. Records, p. 3. in a letter wrote by Dr. *Cranmer* to the earl of *Wiltſhire*, before his ambaſſys abroad.

Henry's

Henry's indignation and reſentment at the diſappointment he met with, that the legate's pompous commiſſion ſhould end in nothing but ſmoke, ſhewed itſelf in falling with the utmoſt ſeverity upon his favourite, *Wolſey*; whoſe ruin from that time was inevitable. And this mighty cardinal ſoon experienced the ficklenefs of worldly power and fortune; being ſuddenly hurried from the greateſt proſperity, to the loweſt degree of dejection and adverſity. But notwithſtanding this reverſe of fortune, his condition was never ſo bad, as our Author repreſents it, when he ſays, that he *muſt* P. 63. *have periſhed through want, had not a few well-diſpoſed perſons, . . . relieved him.* During all his troubles, he never was without a great number of attendants ſuitable to his ſtation and dignity. At the firſt breaking out of the ſtorm, when his effects were ſeized, he lay under ſome difficulties (and much to his honour was it) with regard to a preſent reſource of money, to ſupport his train of gentlemen and yeomen, *which was*, ſays his ſervant *Cavendiſh, no ſmall company; though they had good ſtore of all kinds of victuals, and of beer and Wine plenty*; till the grateful and the faithful *Cromwell*, who was the chief *of thoſe few well-diſpoſed perſons*, with ſome others of his houſhold, by their generous contributions, enabled him

to discharge his menial servants.[1] But no sooner was the King acquainted with his distress, than he restored to him the revenues of *York*, and of *Winchester* also, or at least a large yearly pension out of it, a 1000 marks of which he ordered to be immediately paid him; and sent him by *Cromwell* 10,000 pounds of his benevolence, telling him, *he should not lack, and bidding him be of good comfort*. He also sent or gave him as much goods and plate, as amounted to upwards of 6000 pounds. And his retinue, when he set out to go into *Yorkshire*, was very considerable; having 160 horse in his train, and 72 carts of household furniture.[2] Great preparations were making at *York*, for a magnificent installation, when the king interrupted the splendour of this feast: and death, soon after, put an end to all his troubles.

When he retired from *London*, upon the loss of the great seal, and the breaking out of the King's displeasure, he staid some time at *Asher*; and from thence removed to *Richmond*, where he lay in the same lodgings that *Pole* used to reside, in the house built by dean *Colet*; where he spent his time full as usefully as our Author's

1 *Cavendish's* life of *Wolsey*, 8vo. ed. *London*, 1706. p. 145, 146. *Stowe*, 548, 549.

2 *Cavendish*, p. 167. *Stowe*, p. 555. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 789. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 100.

Hero

Hero could do. Here, we are told, he got his firſt turn to religion; and *every afternoon he would ſit in contemplation with ſome of the moſt ancient fathers of the monaſtery, who converted him to deſpiſe the vanities of this world, and there they gave unto him ſhirts of hair to wear next his body, which he wore divers times after.* He was in this time of his diſgrace, an object of great compaſſion. His old maſter, the King, had caſt him off; the Pope did not care for him; *Catherine* and *Anne Bolen* both deteſted him; and all his friends, ſave *Cromwell* and *Gardiner*, had forſaken him. Whatſoever failings he had, they were the failings of a great ſoul, for he was liberal and munificent to exceſs, and above the mean arts of rapacious miniſters: he employed his immenſe income, in works of grandeur and hoſpitality, and in ſuch actions as reflected honour and credit to his ſtation. Mr. *Phillips*'s Friend, the church hiſtorian, has ſpoke more favourably and more fairly of the cardinal's character: and with him we will hope, that the errors of his life were all attoned for, by a timely and hearty repentance. [1]

The death of this great cardinal, could *Pole* have conformed himſelf to the prevailing meaſures of the court, would have

1 Church hiſtory, v. 1. p. 155.

opened the way to his advancement to the beſt preferments which the King's love and power could have heaped upon him. A tender of the arch-biſhoprick of *York* was made him, on condition that he would not oppoſe the divorce. But he rejected a dignity, which he could not accept of, but on terms which he deemed ingominious. This circumſtance would doubtleſs have reflected much honour on his character, had not he himſelf unfortunately told us in his epiſtle to King *Edward*, (ſect. 34) that he took a month to debate the matter with himſelf; during which time he confeſſed (ſect. 36) he found out a method to reconcile his honour and his intereſt; that he went full-fraught with it to the King, when preparing to utter his ſalvo, his conſcience took the alarm, firſt ſtopped his mouth, and then extorted from him language the very reverſe of that which he came prepared to deliver. It is not to be wondered, that *Burnet* treats this conference of *Pole* with the King, as fabulous: he had never ſeen either *Beccatelli*, or *Dudithius*'s life [1] of

1 The biſhop in his reflections on the 3d and 4th tomes of *Varillas's* hiſtory of hereſies, ſays that Mr. *Varillas* mentions no author with regard to *Engliſh* affairs, but the Arch-bp of *Raguſa*, who, as he ſays, writ the life of cardinal *Pole*: he adds, I do not pretend to deny, that there is any ſuch author, only I very much doubt of it, for I never heard of it in *England*, . . . and

him; and neither *Pole*'s letter to the parliament, or to *Edward* the 6th, was in his time publiſhed. He was therefore ſurely no way to be blamed, for not crediting an account, which had then no other foundation than *Sanders*'s aſſertion, an authority leſs than nothing. But the circumſtance of *Henry's putting his hand to* his *dagger*, . . . *and* being *hindered by nothing, but the modeſt intrepidity of the ſpeaker, from imbruing it in his blood*, being omitted by *Pole* in his addreſs, both to the parliament and *Edward* the 6th, and being only mentioned by the writers of his life; it may well be queſtioned, whether *Henry*'s paſſion, at his kinſman's remonſtrance, proceeded to ſuch extremities, as to threaten his life. P. 67.

The clergy being unfortunately included in a Præmunire, in the ſame manner as *Wolſey*, were glad to gratify the King, both in the ſupremacy, and a good round ſum by way of gift, to prevent the ſeverities of the law. And the parliament limiting their power in ſome eccleſiaſtical caſes, the zeal of the biſhop of *Rocheſter* was excited; and he made ſome reflections upon theſe proceedings, as coming *from the want of faith*. Upon which, complaint being made, he

. . . and I took all the pains I could to be well informed of all that had writ of him.

Amſterdam edit. 1685. 12°. p. 10.

was

P. 70. was far from ſhewing the *intrepidity*, here ſo greatly commended, when he condeſcended to make this paltry excuſe for himſelf, by ſaying he meant it only of the people of *Bohemia*. And though he had ſpoken it of them, the thing was falſe in fact: for the troubles in *Bohemia* were entirely owing to the Emperor *Sigiſmond's* forfeiting his honour and ſafe conduct, given to *John Huſs* at the council of *Conſtance*, through the ſuggeſtion of the Pope and his ſycophants; who perſuaded him, that no faith was to be kept with hereticks. However the biſhop's excuſe was accepted, and the complaint was dropt. But *Le-Grand*, from whom all this ſmart paſſage about the

P. 70. biſhop is tranſlated, [1] 'does not upon this occaſion report that *blaſphemy* of *Cromwell*, *which* this pious man *dares not repeat*, but, as himſelf knows very well, was ſpoken (and is even applied by himſelf elſewhere) upon an-

P. 293. other occaſion, *upon Arch-bp Warham's* communication with the Nun of *Kent*; when we own that *Cromwell* did make uſe of an indecent and profane, though not a blaſphemous, expreſſion. [2] But right or wrong,

1 *Le-Grand*, hiſt. du divorce, v. 1. p. 165.

2 *Le Meme*, v. 1. p. 243. *Cromwell* is reported to have threatened the Arch-biſhop's life, and ſome partiſans of *Rome* telling him there muſt be a good deal of formality in the proceſs againſt this Biſhop --- *à cauſe diſent-ils, qu'il eſt l'oint du Seigneur, & que Dieu a défendu*

properly or improperly, Mr. *Phillips's* reſentment muſt fall upon thoſe he diſlikes.

As *Pole* was in *England*, whilſt that convocation ſat, wherein the clergy's compoſition was offered to eſcape the penalties of a præmunire, and when they acknowledged the King's ſupremacy, *Burnet* had ſaid, that it is very *probable* that *Pole*, who was dean of *Exeter*, was one of the number who agreed to it: this gave occaſion to *Quirini*, [1] and his ſervile copier and tranſlator, to cenſure the biſhop in a very unfair manner. In the firſt place, the biſhop does not ſay *he makes no doubt*, but only *it is very probable*: and the reaſons he gives, are theſe; that *Pole* was then in *England*, and preſent when the King refuſed the compoſition, unleſs the ſupremacy was agreed to; and that it is not likely the King would have continued his penſions and preferments, if he had refuſed to ſign the petition and ſubmiſſion. [2] So that the biſhop

P. 71. Note.

fendu de toucher à ſes oins, mais, ajoûtoit Cromwel, ſi le Roy m'en veut croire, il le fera attacher en Croix comme ſon Chriſt; & parce qu'il eſt Archevêque on luy donnera une Potence plus haute, qu'aux autres. Quoted from a MS. hiſtory of the divorce.

1 The whole note at the bottom of page 71, 72. is tranſlated from *Quirini*, v. 1. the firſt part of it occurs, p. 243, 244, and the latter, reflecting upon the *copiers* of this ſuppoſed *ſlander*, and the other writers, *who ſe notice it eſcaped*, p. 249 of the ſame vol.

2 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 112, 113.

did

did not go upon positive, but only presump-
P. 72. Note. tive grounds. Neither does he *a few lines lower* destroy his own weak argument, as *Quirini*, and his constant follower, calls it;[1] but several *pages after* he owns, that he could not discover of what persons the two houses of convocation were made up in times of popery; and that his conjecture was, that deans sat in the upper house. But this was only his private opinion: and upon better information he retracted and corrected this mistake.[2] A candid adversary would not have continued this slander upon the bishop's memory: and tho' *Quirini* might not have seen the 3d vol. of bishop *Burnet's* history of the reformation, Mr. *Phillips* has, and is therefore inexcusable.

It is very likely, that before matters were come to a crisis, *Henry* had many anxious fears and inward apprehensions: however he kept them to himself; they did not transpire; for the dispatches he sent abroad speak the usual spirit of vigour and resolu-
P. 73. tion. But *a ray of light*, we are told, *at length pierced the chaos of passion, which had long overspread his mind*. This may be pretty language, but not the truer for all that. If the ray of light appeared, it was soon

1 Ibid. p. 129, 130.

2 *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 413 Appendix; and more fully, v. 3. p. 81.

lost

loſt in a cloud; and *Henry* recovered his courage. He found the Pope's threats to be a meer *brutum fulmen*. He found the learned, throughout *Europe*, ſtrenuouſly to defend his cauſe. He found his ſubjects, for the moſt part, heartily to concur with him, in aboliſhing the biſhop of *Rome's* abſurd and uſurped claim. And of late years he had very ſtrong precedents to juſtify his proceedings. So lately as in 1520, the famour Monſr. *Lautrech*, governour of *Milan*, deprived the Pope of all his juriſdiction in in that dukedom; diſpoſed of eccleſiaſtical benefices: and the church, ſays *Thuanus*, was governed by the biſhop of *Bigorre* in *France*, without the intervention of the pope.[1] From the ſame authority too, we learn, that in 1524, the Emperor himſelf, to revenge the injury done him by pope *Clement*, had abrogated his authority throughout *Spain*.[2] Theſe were good examples for an high ſpirited prince to follow, who, as he was a reader of books, could not be ignorant of *Gerſon's* famous treatiſe *de auferibilitate papæ*; and well knew how to avail himſelf of the arguments there urged.

This ſuppoſed fluctuation in the King's breaſt, gives our biographer an opportunity of returning to his ſubject, and introducing

1 *Thuanus*, lib. 1. A. D. 1520.
2 Ibid. lib. 1. A. D. 1524.

his

his hero again upon the ſtage. *Quirini*[1] had referred his readers to *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, for that long detail of what follows in Mr. *Phillips* about *Machiavel* and *Cromwell*; which *Pole* himſelf had moſtly from a hearſay relation, and in which perhaps he might be impoſed upon; hence that torrent of declamation inſerted for ſeveral pages together, partly from *Quirini*, partly from *Pole* himſelf. Mr. *Phillips*, ſpeaking of *Pole*'s writings, pronounces them *the faithful meſſengers of his heart*, and the ſureſt way of *knowing him from himſelf*. Very likely ſo! but not the freer, for that reſpect, from prejudice or malevolence. We ſhall find his writings, for the moſt part, dictated with this ſole view, of blazing out the ſplendour of his own actions; and aggravating the defects, and depreciating the merits, of thoſe he looked upon as his enemies.

From p. 73. to p. 80.

Pref. p. xii.

We muſt not therefore admit his evidence *in his own cauſe*, abſolutely, and without exception: let him tell his tale; and then, *valeat quantum valere poteſt*. It is hard indeed, if a violent partial man cannot make a plauſible apology for his own actions, and relate his ſtory in an inſinuating manner. *Pole*, in the place referred

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 263 ---- 267 -- which Mr. *Philips* tranſlated and inſerted, p. 73 ---- 79.

to,

to, by Mr. *Phillips* and his maſter, has dreſſed up a figure of *Straw*; and, diſliking the man, miſcalled the phantom *Cromwell.* But notwithſtanding all this vehemence of *Pole*, their Holineſſes of *Rome*, for ſeveral ſucceſſions, thought differently of the evil tendency of *Machiavel's* prince, (as is owned both by *Quirini* and *Phillips*) for from *Leo* X, to whoſe nephew, *Laurence de Medicis*, it was dedicated, beſides the two popes here mentioned, all his ſucceſſors to *Clement* 8th permitted the ſale of it throughout *Italy*, whereof there were frequent editions and tranſlations; till at laſt the jeſuit *Poſſevin*, who had never read it, bawled out hereſy, and the inquiſition took it to taſk; [1] which prevailed more to ſilence the bad effects of this writer, than all *Pole*'s empty and florid harangues. P. 79.

Conſidering *Pole's* bigotted attachment to the Pope's authority, we cannot help expreſſing our admiration, that he of all men ſhould venture to differ in opinion from any of their Infallibilities; for *Leo* the 10th, and *Clement* the 7th, both of them protected and promoted *Machiavel:* and one of his reſigned obedience and abſolute ſubmiſſion to their almighty will, muſt allow this as an uncontroverted maxim, *Quod ſummus pontifex, cum totam eccleſiam docet,*

1 *Bayle* dict. article *Machiavel.*

in

in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest.[1] And then, either he or they must bear the blame. — But after all, this whole discourse about *Machiavel*, might have been better applied by *Pole* to his brother cardinal *Wolsey*, who, for the most part acted more consistently with these maxims, and put some of them in practice, than to *Cromwell*, who contented himself with only commending them, and perhaps did it but to amuse or laugh at the grave dean of *Exeter*; for he was not so adventurous a statesman as the other; neither had he ever that full power over his master *Henry*, which *Wolsey*, for many years together, enjoyed.

1 *Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont.* lib. 4. c. 3. Controv. v. 1. p. 962.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE SECOND.

IT is very fortunate for the pretenders to literary merit, when they can skilfully apply, to their own advantage, the labours of others who have employed their time and abilities in purſuit of the ſame plan of ſtudies. I cannot therefore but congratulate the ingenious and diligent Mr. *Phillips*, for the admirable uſe he has made of ſuch friendly aſſiſtances. The foreign writers of the life of *Pole*, had only their own materials to work up, and have given us little more than a bare narration of facts: but happily! the *Engliſh* compiler, *of the hiſtory of his life*, found every thing ready to his hands. He muſt have taken it for granted, his authorities had not been heard of, or could not be met with, or would not be enquired after. He might therefore ſafely venture to flouriſh away upon his borrowed, or rather ſtolen, ſtock of knowledge;

ledge; and arrogate to himself the reputation of an able, and original writer. [1]

We have already detected him, in many instances, of gross and impudent plagiarism: we now repeat the charge; and afresh accuse him of the same illiberal and disingenuous behaviour, in not acknowledging the source of all his materials.

1 How free and lax a translator Mr. *Phillips* is, the reader may judge by comparing the references he has vouchsafed to give in his notes, with the passages in the text. The very first reference is a glaring instance of the liberty he too often takes. He tells us, that *on Pole's arrival at* Avignon, *the sepulchre of Laura, . . . was discovered. The inhabitants congratulated themselves on this incident, no less than the Sicilians had done on the discovery of Archimedes's tomb, the memory of which they had lost; and paid the person, who discovered it almost the same honours the latter had conferred on Cicero, for the like benefit.* Referring, at the note, to *Bembi*. Ep. L. 6, *&c. Quirini* informs us of two of *Bembo's* letters to *Castellanus*, in one of which that learned man speaks very handsomely of *Pole*; and then adds, from another, the cited passage translated as above. *Altera autem (Epistola sc. Bembi) Castellano gratulatur conquisitum nuper, & repertum Lauræ sepulchrum, a Nicolao Perusino, qui ea in re non minorem consecutus sit laudem, quam olim Ciceno apud Siculos ex invento Archimedis tumulo, cujus illi memoriam amiserant: non ita vero gratulatur Versiculos quosdam Vernaculos . . . in eo sepulchro inventos, quos ait non modo longissime abesse a Petrarchæ mirifico, ac prope divino ingenio, sed ne mediocris quidem ullius poetæ aut stylum, aut eruditionem sapere. Quirini*, v. 1. p. 274.

P. 81.

Mr. *Phillips*, p. 82, has rendered *Biturigas*, *Beziers*: he had before, p. 17, rightly translated it *Bourges*. He also, p. 98, speaks of a letter from *Bunet* to *Selva*: whereas *Quirini* frequently mentions that critick's name, and uniformly calls him *Bunellus*.

Un-

Unluckily for his credit, *Quirini's* edition of *Pole's* letters, contrary to his hopes and expectations, have found their way into *England*; to whose preliminary discourses, had Mr. *Phillips* referred where he ought, how little would be left that could be called his own! Where *Quirini* drops the history, our author is then obliged to beat out elsewhere for matter to enlarge his book, and to associate to himself some other authority. As the cardinal did not pursue the business of *Henry's* divorce, which was again renewed after *Pole* left *England*, our historian has condescended to adopt *Le-Grand's* account of it. By the help of these two supporters, he was enabled to go on briskly: the *first thirty pages* of this section, except a few sentences here and there added, to dodge the scent, and tack his intelligence together, being literally translated from them. An easy and compendious way this of becoming an author! *But*, to use his own words on another occasion, *he does them an injury not to acknowledge* what he relates, *to be theirs*, whilst he studiously conceals the just property they have, in what is so shamefully pillaged from them. Pt. 2d. p. 142.

The former part of this section, as it respects *Pole's* foreign connections, and residence at *Avignon* and *Padua*, may stand uncorrected. We shall make no further observations on it, than only to restore it to its

its own author; and to refer the reader for the contents of it from page 80 to page 102, to *Quirini's* introduction to the first volume of *Pole's* letters from page 274 to page 300. Mr. *Phillips* does indeed, in the course of these pages, cite some of *Pole's* letters, and a few other authorities, as vouchers of his history: but then they are the very same references, which *Quirini*, in his illustration of the letters, had selected for him; and which he, to blind his readers, vouchsafeth sometimes to quote.

The illustrious *Sadolet* bearing so considerable a share in the correspondence of *Pole*, we cannot entirely pass him by, without gladly paying that regard to him, which is due to the memory of superiour virtue and ability. *Sadolet*, though secretary to a Pope, was yet remarkable for candour and moderation, and for an affection to learned persons, tho' they were sometimes engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for *Sturmius*, *Bucer*, and *Melanchton*.[1] *Seckendorf* hath preserved a valuable letter of his addressed to *Melanchton*,

1 In a letter to *Sturmius*, dated 1539, he thus expresseth himself, *Palam, cum facultas datur, foleo & commemorare & loqui, me tibi & Melanchtoni & Bucero, hominibus doctissimis, plane benevolum & ex animo fautorem esse.*

Cited by *Seckendorf*, hist. *Luth.* L. 1. p. 43.

which

which ſhews the goodneſs of his heart, and the ſweetneſs of his temper. It is a letter expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem of that excellent reformer and his writings: in it he acquaints him with his promotion to the purple, and begs to be admitted into his friendſhip; telling him, he was not ſuch a bigot, as to hate thoſe who differed from him, but that the eſteem he bore to learning and worth was ſuch, that he had already no inconſiderable ſhare of his affection; and hoped, the diſtance of their abode would not prevent an union of their ſouls.[1]

1. This letter of *Sandolet* is dated in 1537, and is addreſſed to *Melanchton*, *Dilectiſſimo tanquam fratri:* ---- *accidebat mihi . . . ut aliquid nanciſcerer de ſcriptis tuis, quæ ego & propter excellens ingenium tuum, & propter elegantiam ſtyli & orationis, libentiſſime legere ſolebam. Id cum ſæpius facerem, magnaque in legendo delectatione adficerer, ſenſi paulatim mihi incendi animum ad quandam benevolentiam nominis tui, uſque eo quidem, ut mirò quodam ſtudio tecum incundæ amicitiæ tenerer. Non enim is ſum, qui ut quiſque opinione a nobis diſſentit, ſtatim eum odio habeam. . . . Faveo ingeniis, virtutes hominum volo, ſtudia literarum diligo, in quibus tu, ut doctrinæ & ingenii, ſic amoris mei non mediocres partes poſſides. Nec dubito, quin tu eadem mente & voluntate ſis præditus. Iſti enim animo, qui tam liberaliter artibus ingenuis expolitus ſit, nihil agreſte atque aſperum, inſſe poteſt, quo etiam majorem mihi ſpem virtus tua facit, meas hoc apud te literas ponderis habituras, ut qui locorum ſpatiis diſjuncti ſumus, animis tamen & benevolentia conjungamur, quod ego maxime aveo atque expeto.*

Seckendorf ibid. ſee alſo, B. 3. p. 244: and his chriſtian candour and charity to the *Vaudois* is celebrated by *Thuanus*, B. 6. A. D. 1550.

How amiable is ſuch a ſpirit! how dear muſt it render him to every lover of learning and candour! Honeſt and moderate men muſt admire him, and no adverſary could be ſo ungenerous as to hate, or revile him. Of all the friends of *Pole*, there was none whoſe acquaintance did him ſo much honour, as his intimacy with the truly reſpectable *Sadolet*: and had he but cultivated the ſame freedom of thinking and writing, his own character might have equalled that of his friend the biſhop of *Carpentras*.

After our hiſtorian's account of *Pole*'s literary engagements abroad, we are called off from attending his hero, to hear his own
P. 102. concluding relation *of the affair of the divorce*. *Quirini* being ſilent about this, Mr. *Phillips* was at a loſs where to meet with an impartial and fair detail of that buſineſs. To ſearch into records, or to give us his own opinion, would be a work of time and pains: he pitched therefore upon that forgotten author Monſr. *Le-Grand*, deeming that a tranſcript from thence might be made with leſs hazard of diſcovery, than from more approved writers. Though our author is as much obliged to *Le-Grand* for the following pages of his hiſtory relating
From 102 — 111. to the divorce, as he was to *Quirini* for his former intelligence; yet except a trifling appeal, at his entrance, to an inſignificant minute in one of *Caſſali's* and *Rance's* letters,

ters, in the 3d volume of *Le-Grand's* hiſtory, no notice at all is taken of his guide and director. The firſt vol. of *Le-Grand* contains the hiſtory or narration of the divorce: in the 3d volume are inſerted the proofs, amongſt which there are ſeveral very valuable records, which biſhop *Burnet* hath made good uſe of in his 3d volume of the hiſtory of the reformation; and hath honeſtly referred his readers to *Le-Grand* upon every occaſion, by a particular acknowledgment of thoſe materials he ſelected from thence to illuſtrate his hiſtory. As a relator of facts, it would have done Mr. *Phillips* no harm, to have conſidered theſe records of the laſt volume, rather than to have curtailed his partial narration in the firſt. But however, even by this account; we learn, that the Pope ſtill acted in his former ſhuffling, prevaricating manner: and the ſeveral diſpatches referred to by his author, are ample teſtimonies of his Holineſs's diſtreſsful ſtate; who was urged, on the one hand, by the Emperor and the cardinals of his faction to declare againſt *Henry*; and, on the other, was moved by the repreſentation of the King of *France* and his agents, of the danger of an haſty determination of *Henry*'s cauſe. Neither was the King of *England* wanting in his own behalf. He wrote to the Pope, and inſiſted

upon its being determined in *England*;[1] and, as Mr. *Phillips*, or rather *Le-Grand*,[2] P. 102. says, tried *to prevail on the queen to desist from her appeal to Rome.* But she was resolutely bent to have his Holiness's decision; and, as if she was determined to exasperate her husband to the uttermost, she applied in most pressing terms to the Pope; and procured a *Breve* from him to prohibit the King's marrying another wife, and to charge him to live with the queen as formerly; and in case he refused, the whole kingdom was threatened with an interdict.[3]

Upon this, the King was cited to *Rome*: but by his ambassador and excusator *Carne* he protested against this step, because the Emperor's power was so great at *Rome*, and he himself was a sovereign Prince, and the church of *England* a free church over which the Pope had no just authority.[4] He had some time before issued out a proclamation, forbidding the receiving or publishing any bulls from *Rome* prejudicial to his royal prerogative; and his parliament had con-

1 *Burnet*, 3 v. Ref. p. 67. Records, p. 372.
2 *Le-Grand* hist. du divorce, v. 1. p. 218.
3 *Burnet*, 3 v. Ref. p. 57. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 446. There was afterwards another to the same purpose. *Burnet*, v. 3. Ref. p. 68. *Le-Grand*, v. 3. p. 531.
4 *Burnet*, 1 v. Ref. p. 126. ibid. 3d v. Ref. p. 68. *Herbert*, p. 364.

curred

curred with him, in applying to the Pope for a ſpeedy determination of this great matter. And the members of both houſes ſhewed themſelves very forward in reſtraining the papal authority, and ſupporting their ſovereign with great ſpirit and unanimity in the meaſures he took entirely to annul it. The convocation had acknowledged him ſupreme head of the church of *England*. The deciſions of the univerſities were laid before the parliament, which excited their reſentment againſt the Pope, and their deteſtation of the King's marriage. *One of* P. 104. *the members* did indeed ſpeak *againſt the divorce, in the houſe of commons, and moved that the King might be entreated to cohabit with the queen.* But whilſt Mr. *Phillips* was mentioning this, and the notice the King himſelf took of Mr. *Temſe's* ſpeech, he ſhould not have ſuppreſſed the moſt material part of his Majeſty's diſcourſe with the ſpeaker; in which, beſides what our author hath thought proper to give us, he told him "that the houſe might better underſtand "his true reaſons, he had informed him-"ſelf in all parts of chriſtendom, concern-"ing ſtrange marriages; and that ſaving in "*Spain* and *Portugal*, he could never find "that any man had ſo much as married

[a] 1 *Herbert*, p. 330, 331. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 101. and 107.

"two

"two ſiſters, if the firſt were carnally known. "But for the brother to marry the bro- "ther's wife was ſo abhorred amongſt all "nations, that he never heard any chriſtian "ſo did, but himſelf, and therefore wiſhed "them to believe that his conſcience was "troubled.[1]"

But why was this omitted? certainly for this reaſon, leſt it might leave an impreſſion in *Henry's* favour. *Le Grand* who had as little good will for the King, as Mr. *Phillips* can poſſibly have; yet acted more fairly, and has honeſtly related the whole ſpeech.[2] After this, there was the utmoſt harmony between the King and his parliament: and the houſe, at his requeſt, undertook to conſider how far the oath, which the clergy made to the Pope, was derogatory to that of their fidelity to him. This occaſioned the final renouncing of the Pope's authority, not long after.[3]

During the receſs of this parliament, we are told by *Le-Grand*[4] and his tranſlator, P. 104. that *the King now cauſed a ſtrict inquiry to be made into Hereſy, in which the biſhops ſeconded his capricious and ſanguinary inclinations, with all the rigour of a Spaniſh inquiſition.* The concluſion of the parliament,

1 *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, 1 v. Ref. p. 122.
2 *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 223.
3 *Herbert*, p. 363. *Burnet*, 1 vol. Ref. p. 123.
4 *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 224.

and

and the reſignation of the Great Seal by Sir *Thomas More*, being mentioned by them both at the end of their laſt paragraph, might induce the reader to think, that this *inquiry into hereſy*, was poſterior to theſe two events: whereas the contrary is the truth; and neither of theſe writers have ſtrictly attended to the order of time, in their account of many of the tranſactions which they relate. This inquiry, here hinted at, was made long before the end of that Seſſions, or Sir *Thomas's* giving up the ſeals. And the particular inſtances of this eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, tho' ſpecified by *Le-Grand*, [1] are yet taken no notice of by Mr. *Phillips*. I preſume, he was conſcious, the dwelling upon them would tend to the diſhonour of ſome of the greateſt men of his own communion.

The ſufferers named by *Le-Grand* are *Bilney*, *Biſield*, *Tewkſbury*, and *Bainham*: and the proceedings, carried on againſt them, were exerciſed, we freely grant, *with all the rigour of a Spaniſh inquiſition*. But who were theſe *ſanguinary* inquiſitors? Biſhop *Stokeſley* of *London*, [2] and Sir *Thomas*

1 *Le Mime*, p. 225.

2 The ſame perſon whom Mr. *Phillips*, (following *Quirini's* or his printer's blunder,) in the note of p. 32, called *John Stockter*; who is mentioned by *Eraſmus*, (from one of whoſe epiſtles the note is quoted) as one of the illuſtrious ornaments of *Henry's* court; and who, he ſays,

More the chancellor himself; the latter of whom, as appears by the inscription which he composed in the height of his prosperity, and ordered to be placed on his monument, gloried in nothing so much as his hatred to all those, whom he was pleased to brand with the appellation of hereticks.

P. 115. We are told, indeed, that *his prudence, understanding, and temper, seemed to vie with each other, and could be surpassed by nothing but a disinterestedness, probity, and sense of religion, which rendered the man, the magistrate, and the christian compleat.* But surely he did not exemplify any part of this amiable character, when he condescended to turn inquisitor and persecutor; when he so far forgot the regard he owed to truth and his own honour, that not content with sending out a writ for the burning of *Bilney*, he could publickly declare to the world,[1] that he had abjured his tenets before his execution. A calumny this, which was so far from having any evidence in its support, that the absolute falshood of it was testified by many witnesses,[2] whose vera-

says, was one of his chaplains, *a sacris*, which Mr. P. 32. *Phillips*, by a bold periphrasis, rendereth, *is clerk of the closet*.

1 In the preface to one of his books against *Tindal*. *Fox*, 2 v. p. 272.

2 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 275. *& seq.* *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 163. *Strype*, Mem. 1 v. p. 261.

city

city is unqueſtionable. He aſſerted the like of *Biſield* alſo, with as much malevolence, and as little truth.[1]

Tewkſbury, the 3d perſon mentioned by *Le-Grand*, was tried and condemned by biſhop *Stokeſley*, and by Sir *Thomas More*, at his houſe at *Chelſea*; and carried directly from thence to the ſtake. But in his treatment of *Bainham*, the chancellor exerciſed his cruelty to an horrid exceſs. He impriſoned him in his own houſe; and to make him diſcover and inform againſt his heretical acquaintance, he ordered him to be whipped at a tree in his garden; and then ſent him to the tower, where he ſtood by, and ſaw him put to the rack.[2] The biſhop and the chancellor, we ſuppoſe, *conſidered hereſy not only as a grievous ſin againſt almighty God, but as a heinous crime againſt the ſtate.* This made them ſo zealous to extirpate ſuch dangerous opinions. Pt. 2d. p. 166.

As the divorce was ſtill depending at the court of *Rome*, the chancellor ſuggeſted to the King, that the Pope would be more wrought upon by his ſupporting the church, and defending the faith, than by threatenings.[3] The perſecution therefore that was carried on, was owing entirely to *More's*

1 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 294.
2 *Fox*, v. 2. p. 297.
3 *Burnet*, hiſt. Ref. 1 vol. p. 159.

inſti-

inſtigation. In was begun in 1531, when he was in the height of his power: and the above mentioned ſufferers were executed that year. Some few proceſſes indeed we meet with both before and after this time; but the violence of the ſtorm was felt moſt ſeverely then, but not every where alike. The rigour of it was confined almoſt wholly to the dioceſe of *London*; where the biſhop, who had much more learning than humanity, was remarkably active in diſplaying his religious fury: in which he was, no doubt, greatly encouraged and ſupported, by the countenance of Sir *Thomas More*'s authority; who frequently was preſent at the biſhop's examination of heretics, and aſſiſted him in that godly work. And how much his influence contributed to theſe proſecutions is evident from hence, that with the decline of his power, the *ſtrict inquiry into hereſy* ſubſided too: and we hear of but few condemnations for ſome time, after *More* himſelf had felt the bitter ſeverity of the law. As he had ſo great an hand in this inquiſitorial inquiry, we are not ſurpriſed, that Mr. *Phillips* ſhould ſo lightly ſkip over theſe rigorous proceedings. He hath expreſſed himſelf in ſo guarded a manner, that it is hard to judge from his narration, whether the perſecution was levelled againſt the promoters of the new, or the defenders of the old tenets.

tenets. He has given us, becauſe *Le-Grand* P. 104.
did, ' a trifling inſtance of trouble upon each account; wherein the King's ſupremacy only was concerned, which being juſt declared and recogniſed by the parliament, the prieſt, who maintained the Pope's title to it, might reaſonably expect to be impriſoned for oppoſing the laws of the land: and the heretic, who appealed to the King, was well adviſed to claim the benefit of this act, to give his ſovereign an opportunity of exerciſing his new acknowledged juriſdiction.

Whilſt *Stokeſley* and *More* were thus buſily employed in defending the doctrine of the church, the buſineſs of the divorce was managed at *Rome* with all the accuſtomed delays of the timid pontiff; till *Henry*, ſatisfied in his own mind of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, offended at the indignity offered to his perſon in being cited to *Rome*, wearied with this impolitic treatment, and finding the generality of his ſubjects had adopted his ſentiments, *cut, at* P. 107.
once, the knot, as Mr. *Phillips* ſays, *which he had ſo long, in vain, endeavoured to untie, and married Mrs Anne Bullen as ſoon as he returned from France*. *John Stowe* tells us, "the King returning to *England*, landed at "*Dover* the 14th of *November* 1532."[2]

1 *Le-Grand*, 1 v. p. 225.
2 *Stowe's* annals, p. 562.

But

But as the marriage was not publickly declared till the *April* following, it is impoſſible to fix the determinate day. *Sanders* [1] and *Campion*, [2] whoſe authority muſt be of great weight with Mr. *Phillips*, have with many other hiſtorians fixed the day of this marriage upon the 14 of *November*. *John Stowe* and ſome others tell us, it was deferred to the *January* following. [3] As the divorce was undecided, there is great probability in that conjecture of biſhop *Burnet*, "that the day of marriage was given out "wrong on deſign. And in a matter that "was ſo ſecretly managed, it was no hard "thing, to oblige thoſe who were in the "ſecret to ſilence." [4]

P. 107. The pleaſant tale Mr. *Phillips* has amuſed us with, concerning the ſcruples of Dr. *Lee* who performed the ceremony, though here tranſlated from *Le-Grand*, [5] is originally derived from no other authority than the fiction

1 *Ad decimum vero & octavum calendas Decembris, . . . Rex longioris moræ impatiens, . . . omnino conſtituit cum Anna Bolena, nuptias contrahere.*

Sanders de ſchiſm. Ang. L. 1. p. 83.

2 *Rex Annam Boleniam ducit clanculum menſe Novembri, ita ut nemo fere perſentiſceret, priuſquam ad Aprilem proximum gravida notaretur.*

Edm. Campian. de divortio Hen. 8. p. 178. *Inter opuſcula.*

3 Annals, p. 562.

4 *Burnet*, v. 3. Ref. p. 70, 71.

5 *Le-Grand*, v. 1. p. 237, 238.

of

of lying *Sanders*.[1] It is ſcarce probable that *Pole*, who collected every thing that could defame the King and his new queen, would have omitted it in his ſcurrilous invectives againſt them, had there been the leaſt foundation for ſuch a report. *Le-Grand* indeed, in another place, endeavours to ſupport it, by the convincing authority of a nameleſs MS;[2] the writer of which might perhaps owe all his knowledge either to *Sanders*, or to an authority of no better credit. But the ſtory lying in Mr. *Phillips's* way, he thought it told well, and did not care to drop it.

Henry having taken this ſtep, which was intended as a publick defiance of the pope, and an inſult upon *that tribunal* which had arbitrarily arrogated to itſelf *the deciſion of cauſes of ſuch importance*, did not ſtop here. Perceiving the good diſpoſition of his ſubjects, he proceeded to eaſe them of the many exorbitant encroachments of papal power, upon their Liberties, as well as his own prerogative. *At the next meeting of the parliament, a law paſſed, by which all appeals to the See of Rome were prohibited.* And high time it was, that ſuch a law as this ſhould be enacted; for the grievances, which it was calculated to redreſs, had been

P. 59.

P. 107.

1 *Sanders de Schiſmate, &c.* L. 1. p. 83.
2 *Le-Grand*, v. 2. Defenſe de *Sanderus*, p. 109.

long

long and loudly complained of: for these appeals to the Pope were neither more nor less, than the effect of a mere usurpation on his part, and of illegal acts in the subjects. And the order of the process settled by this bill was agreeable to the ancient constitution of the kingdom. They owed their rise to that separation, which *William* the conqueror made between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Before that time, the Pope was not considered at all in *England*; and all ecclesiastical cases were determined at home, without his interposition. But by this separation, the Pope, who before was subject to the canons of the church, began to be above them. Hence was laid the foundation of those appeals, which were never allowed, without much struggling and reluctance, by the civil power; and which, by the continual contests they occasioned, proved very detrimental to the kingdom.

The first who judicially, and under the form of authority, introduced them in *England* (tho' there had been a prior attempt or two before) was that turbulent and haughty prelate *Henry de Blois* bishop of *Winchester*, and the Pope's legate, in the unsettled reign of King *Stephen*; [1] who being, as legate,

1 *In Anglia appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintonienſis, dum legatus eſſet, malo ſuo erudeliter intruſit.*

Hen. Huntingdon, A°. 16. *Steph.* L. 8. p. 226. ed. *Savil.*

supe-

ſuperior to his metropolitan, took this ſtep, to leſſen the juriſdiction of the See of *Canterbury*; and firſt taking cognizance of theſe appeals himſelf, they naturally and of courſe came to be determined in the *Roman* conſiſtory: whereas before they were uſually made to the primate, and determined by a council called by him. — But they were not long tamely permitted: and upon *Henry* the ſecond's putting a ſtop to them by the 8th conſtitution of the council of *Clarendon*, they remained ever after prohibited by law; and ſubſiſted only by the connivance of the crown, though complained of from time to time by the commons in parliament.

This ſtatute therefore providing againſt them by ſevere penalties, was only an affirmance of the common law; though neceſſary in equity, to give notice to all perſons, that the breach thereof would not be connived at for the future.[1] This occaſioned *Henry* and his Holineſs to fulminate againſt each other. But the *Vatican* thunder now rolled in vain: *it made no impreſſion on Henry*, and *was ſet at nought* by his ſubjects. The biſhop of *Rome's* authority was abſolutely *diſclaimed*. His decree P. 109.

1 See *Carte*, v. 1. p. 442, 443, and 551. and v. 3. p. 118. from whence this account of theſe appeals is taken.

againſt

againſt the divorce, and in confirmation of the validity of *Catherine's* marriage, was deſpiſed and trampled under foot. The King perſiſted to cohabit with his new wife; and the nation acknowledged her for their queen. The juriſdiction and decrees of the Pope were renounced; the King declared the ſupreme head of the church: and the people readily profeſſed obedience to all the laws for extinguiſhing the papal power.

P. 111. *In this manner*, ſays our author, *the ſpiritual ſupremacy was conferred on the King and his ſucceſſors.* He had before told us, P. 70. of *the novelty of the claim, and its repugnance to the ſenſe of all antiquity*; and peremptorily aſſerted, that *Henry*, by this uP. 71. ſurped a power *of laying waſte that fair edifice*, the Pope's ſupremacy, *which, like all others throughout the Chriſtian world, had* St. Mat. ch. 16. *been founded by the divine lawgiver, on the pre-eminence of that See, and had reſted on it, in this kingdom, ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment, during* 900 *years.* A ſmall knowledge in the *Engliſh* hiſtory would have made Mr. *Phillips* leſs poſitive in his aſſertions. *The renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy*, he reP. 112. preſents, as *ſeparating from the catholic church.* But what if this papal ſupremacy was never legally allowed? what if its pretenſions, in whole or in part, were ever reſiſted? Did any of the *Saxon* Kings, tho' in-

indebted to a miſſionary from the Pope, for their converſion to chriſtianity, make any ſolemn or formal acknowledgment of their ſubmiſſion to the biſhop of *Rome*? Where was hid this authority, when *Dionoth*, the abbot of *Bangor*, told *Auguſtine* the monk (whoſe errand was as much to make converts to the church of *Rome*, as the church of Chriſt) that he knew no obedience due to him, whom they called the Pope, but the obedience of love; and, that under God they were to be governed by the biſhop of *Caerleon*?[1] What then did *Henry* do more, than what moſt of his predeceſſors had done before him?[2]

The firſt appeal upon record to the Pope, before the conqueſt, was made by *Wilfrid* Arch-Bp of *York*, whoſe remonſtrances, againſt ſome regulations made both by civil and eccleſiaſtical authority, not being attended to; he denounced publickly, that he appealed for redreſs, to the See of *Rome*. "This," ſays *Carte*, "appeared ſo new and "ſingular to the audience, that it occaſion-

[1] *Spelman.* conc. A. D. 601. cited by Arch-biſhop *Bramhall*; who adds, that as this conference, between *Dionoth* and *Auguſtine*, was held in the very beginning of the 7th century, it is a demonſtrative convincing proof that no ſuch claim had been heard of, or acknowledged, at that time.

[2] *Bramhall's* vindication of the church of *England*, p. 84. Fol.

"ed a general laughter, as a thing quite "ridiculous." [1] And though the Pope decreed in his favour, yet *Alfrid* the King would not reſtore to him his preferments, declaring that "what the Kings his prede-"ceſſors with their council had determined, "and what had been afterwards adjudged "by the arch-biſhop and all the biſhops of "*England*, he was reſolved not to change, "for any papal letter or reſcript what-"ever." [2]

Afterwards, altho' *William* the conqueror, at his acceſſion to the crown, paid a little court to his Holineſs; yet no ſooner was he firmly ſeated, than he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the independency of his crown: and when the Pope admoniſhed him by his legate of the homage due to his See, he peremptorily refuſed it, ſaying, *fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promiſi, nec anteceſſores meos anteceſſoribus tuis id feciſſe comperio.* [3] So little regard did he pay to the Pope's authority, that he would not even ſuffer his ſubjects to acknowledge any one for Pope, without his orders; [4] or permit his primate to paſs any ſynodical canons, but what were agreeable to his will,

1 *Carte*, 1 v. p. 250.
2 Ibid. 1 v. p. 257.
3 See his epiſtle to the Pope in *Selden's* Notes to *Eadmerus*, p. 164.
4 *Eadmerus*, p. 6. not. p. 163.

and

and firſt approved, or ordered by himſelf.[1] Neither would he ſuffer the biſhops to excommunicate any of his barons or officers.[2]

His ſon *William Rufus* exerted the ſame ſpirit: and when arch-biſhop *Anſelm* aſked leave of him to go to *Rome* for his pall, he refuſed his requeſt, as being "contrary to "his own prerogative, to the laws of the "land, and to the rights of the church of "*England*;" alleging "that it had not been "the cuſtom either in his father's time or "his own, for any body in *England* to ac-"knowledge a Pope without the King's "licenſe or approbation."[3] When *Hilary* biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in *Henry* the ſecond's time, "was exalting the papal authority, and "affirmed that no layman, not even the King "himſelf, could give any eccleſiaſtical digni-"ties or privileges to a church, without the "Pope's allowance and confirmation;" the King in great wrath interrupted him, and told him "the Pope owed his power to "the grant of men, but the royal authority "was derived from God; — that he ſhould "apply to the great council there aſſembled "for doing him juſtice on a man, who had "thus attacked the ancient liberties of the "crown, *&c.* The whole audience aſſented "to what the King ſaid, and was moved

1 Ibid. not. p. 165.
2 Ibid. not. p. 168.
3 *Carte*, I v. p. 472.

" with indignation againſt the biſhop; *and* " chancellor *Becket* reproved him for his " preſumption."[1]

In a parliament held at *Carliſle* under *Edward* the firſt, in 1307, ſuch a law was paſſed, which, if well executed, would have put an end to all the extorted juriſdiction of the court of *Rome:* for it was expreſſly declared, " that the church of *England* " was founded in the eſtate of prelacy, by " the King and peers thereof, and that the " ſeveral incroachments of the biſhop of " *Rome*, did tend to the annullation of the " ſtate of the church, the deſheriting of " the King and the peers, and the deſtruc- " tion of the laws and rights of the realm; " contrary to the diſpoſition and will of the " firſt founders."[2] In the reign of *Edward* the 3d, and *Henry* the 4th, the judges declared the Pope's excommunication contrary to law.[3] *Edward* the 3d revived the ſtatutes of præmunire, and of proviſors, to prevent the Pope's intermeddling, either in the diſpoſal of benefices, or the hearing of eccleſiaſtical cauſes.[4] Under *Richard* the 2d, the parliament made ſtill ſtronger efforts, to curb this foreign encroaching ju-

1 *Carte*, 1 v. p. 584.
2 35 E. 1. Statute of *Carliſle*.
3 *Fidelis Servi, ſubdito infideli reſponſio*, by Dr. *Clerk*, p. 51.
4 *Rapin*, 1 v. p. 478. 27 E. 3. c. 1.

riſdiction

riſdiction. "They made it death for any "man to bring or ſend any bull or proceſs "from *Rome*; and that whoever procured "or executed any ſentence from *Rome* ſhould "loſe all that he had, and be impriſoned "for life. And they alſo offered to de- "fend the King againſt the Pope; declar- "ring the crown of *England* was not ſub- "ject to him, but to God only; adding, "that it had been ſo free at all times, that "it hath been in no earthly ſubjection."[1]

Theſe are inſtances, ſufficient enough to prove, how much the nation was ever upon its guard to check the growth of the papal ſupremacy, and to prevent its taking ſuch root as thoroughly to be eſtabliſhed: tho' under weak, or very ambitious princes, or when civil commotions ran high, the encroachments of the papacy were connived at, and ſometimes appealed to, by thoſe who either feared a rupture with that formidable power, or found it neceſſary to ſtrengthen their intereſt by its friendſhip and ſupport. *Henry* therefore, when he utterly aboliſhed this aſſumed ſupremacy, was ſo far from being guilty of what Mr. *Phil-* P. 111. *lips* arrogantly termeth an *amazing innovation*, that he really did no more, than add life and ſpirit to thoſe laws, which the wiſdom of his anceſtors had indeed enact-

[1] 16 *R.* 2. c. 5.

ed;

ed, but which, though they generally lay dormant, when the royal prerogative was not exerted: yet were they ſtill known to be in full force, and, being exerciſed from time to time, in certain inſtances; the nation, groaning under the inſupportable burthen of an infinity of papal exactions, and, in a manner, impoveriſhed by them, was well enough prepared to receive the revival of the regal ſupremacy. [1]

Mr. *Phillips*, by the help of a citation from *Henry's* book againſt *Luther*, (which he found in a note in the church hiſtorian of his own communion, and hath put into modern language) hath, with Mr. *Dod*, [2] repreſented the clergy of thoſe times, as charging the King with *inconſiſtency*, and acting contrary to his *ſolemn declarations* in that book. *Henry's* opinion, in this point, was certainly altered: but he had, ſince that time, got better knowledge of the Popes themſelves. They had amuſed and deceived him ſo much, that his good opinion of them and their courts was greatly abated. He might reaſonably conjecture, power, thus abuſed, could not be of divine right; and that the Popes, in the exerciſe of it, did frequently determine not according to con-

P. 111.

1 *Carte*, 3 v. p. 129.
2 *Dod's* church hiſtory, 1 v. p. 99.

ſcience,

ſcience, but the dictates of a prevailing Party. It was this groſs behaviour of the Pope, which occaſioned the inquiry into the riſe of his power, and how far he could diſpenſe with the laws of God. The ſpirit of the reformers had already taught men to deſpiſe his menaces: and when they began in earneſt to examine the foundation of ſuch high pretenſions, they ſoon found them to be againſt the word of God, and the conſent of earlieſt antiquity: that they were only the acts of uſurpation and ſufferance; for that every prince in his own dominions was ſovereign and ſupreme head of all his ſubjects, without diſtinction or exception. When therefore the breach was made between *Henry* and the Pope, his intereſt and his people's being the ſame, the King no longer delayed to free himſelf, and them, from the burthen of that yoke, which they, as well as their fore-fathers, found too heavy for them; and thereby providentially became an inſtrument of promoting the reformation, without intending it.

The *Gallican* church had always preſerved its liberties, exempt from the encroachments of any foreign intruder. But with regard to *England*, we have it hinted, "that it might perhaps be looked upon as "a feodatary kingdom to *Rome*, as it once

"was

"was in the reign of King *John*, and part "of *Henry* the 3d's reign, and that the Pe-"ter-pence was ſtill a kind of acknow-"ledgment of that ſubjection. Now where "ſuch a ſubjection is really due, a feoda-"tary prince," ſaith Mr. *Dod*, "that re-"fuſeth to pay homage according to ar-"ticles, may as well by the cuſtoms and "laws of nations be deprived of his domi-"nions."[1] The advocates of the See of *Rome* muſt be at a miſerable loſs truly, to lay any ſtreſs upon ſuch weak ſuppoſitions. Peter-pence was originally nothing more than a voluntary tax, appropriated entirely to the ſupport of an *Engliſh* church and ſchool at *Rome*, and for the benefit of that nation reſiding there:[2] and we have here a flagrant inſtance of the preſumption and vanity of the court of *Rome*, in claiming that afterwards, as an acknowledgment or quit-rent, which was only at firſt collected as a fund for the maintenance of the *Engliſh* youth and pilgrims at *Rome*. This money was called indeed Peter-pence, not as a ſuppoſed tributary homage to the pretended ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, but becauſe it was to be paid upon the firſt of *Auguſt*, which was the feſtival of St. *Peter ad vincula*, in remembrance of

1 *Dod's* church hiſtory, 1 v. p. 99.

2 *Matt. Weſtmonaſt.* p. 265. Arch-biſhop *Parker's* ed. 1570.

the

the diſcovery of the relicks of St. *Alban*,[1] ſuppoſed to be found upon that holy-day. The Popes themſelves, who did not uſe to be over-modeſt, were ſo far from looking upon it as a debt due to them as ſuperior lords of a lay fee, that they called it only *eleemoſyna beati Petri*,[2] alms or bounty money, not a tribute paid by way of homage.

In the diſtreſsful condition King *John* was, we need not wonder, if he had very little concern for the dignity of a crown, to which he had no other right, than what uſurpation and murder could give him. The Pope had abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance: to free himſelf from the difficulties he was involved in, and to prevent a threatened invaſion from *France*, he reſigned his realms to his Holineſs, to hold them for the future, as his feodatary, by homage; and to pay him an annual tribute. *John* vainly thought this ſtep would reduce his enemies to the ſame diſtreſſes he had experienced himſelf, before he took ſhelter under that ſanctified banner. But the barons were not ſo ſoon frighted. As *John* was univerſally odious, they raiſed a clamour againſt him in all places, for ſubmit-

1 *Collier* eccleſ. hiſt. 1 v. p. 143.
2 Pope *Paſcal* in a letter to *Hen.* 1. *Eadmer*, p. 113.

ting

ting to be an homager to the Pope, and for giving up the independency of the crown. But the officers of the court of *Rome*, who well knew how to fiſh in troubled waters, made great advantages of the diſturbances of his reign, and the weakneſs of his ſon's adminiſtration; and committed ſuch acts of rapine and extortion, that the wantonneſs of their tyranny was raiſed in proportion to the extreme paſſive behaviour of the ſupple *Engliſh*.

But however in the next reign, *Edward* the 1ſt put a check to theſe exorbitances, and reſtored the ancient power and prerogative to the crown again. And when ſometime after, in the reign of *Edward* the 3d, the Pope made a demand of the homage and acknowledgment which *John*, he ſaid, had engaged for himſelf and his ſucceſſors; the three eſtates in parliament, declared this act of *John*'s illegal and not binding, and done in violation of his coronation oath; if therefore the Pope by virtue of this claim ſhould attempt any thing againſt the King, that then the King and all his ſubjects ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt and oppoſe the ſame.[1] And to ſhew his contempt of the Pope, the King forbad his alms or Peter-pence to be gathered or paid any more; tho' this, as

1 *Collier* eccleſ. hiſt. 1 v. p. 560.

Mr.

Mr. *Collier* ſays, ' was only a temporary ſtoppage. This ſpirited anſwer of the King and his parliament prevented the Pope from ever making the like pretenſions, or from building any right upon the act of a weak diſheartened uſurper, never agreed to by the nation, and ſet aſide as null and invalid by an active ſucceſſor. However, what the Popes themſelves at that time dropped, as knowing the illegality and inſufficiency of their claim, their abſurd adherents in later days have preſumed to urge, as ſolid proof, that the free and imperial crown of *England* was a tributary ſtate to the biſhop of *Rome*.

But now things went in the old channel. *Henry*, purpoſing to be ſovereign of his own dominions, ſet aſide this foreign authority, which divided the obedience his ſubjects owed to him as their natural Prince. In doing this, we maintain, he took upon himſelf no other ſpiritual ſupremacy, than what "the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* "under the law of *Moſes*, the firſt Chriſtian "Emperors under the goſpel oeconomy, and "the *Saxon* Kings in *England* before the "conqueſt, had conſtantly exerciſed."[2] An authority this, as the acts of parliament ſtyle it, over the perſons of the ſpirituality, as well as the temporality of the Realm.

1 Ibid.
2 *Carte*, 3 v. p. 129.

But

But this conferreth no power to the King, to do acts of a merely ſpiritual nature. The Clergy do indeed derive the authority of their function, not from the Prince, but from Chriſt himſelf: but the Prince giveth them liberty to perform their religious offices in his dominions. Thus Arch-biſhop *Laud*, whom no one will ſuſpect of any deſign of lowering the rights and privileges of the Clergy, publickly declared, "that "tho' our office (i.e. epiſcopal and cleri-"cal) be from God and Chriſt immediate-"ly, yet may we not exerciſe this power, "either of order or juriſdiction, but as God "hath appointed us, that is, not in his "Majeſty's, or any Chriſtian King's king-"doms, but by and under the power of the "King given us ſo to do." [1] This is the nature of that *ſpiritual ſupremacy*, which Mr. *Phillips*, ſeeing or obſerving no difference between the *Commiſſion* to preach given by Chriſt, and the *Permiſſion* allowed by the Prince, groſſly miſtakes; and dreaming of abſurdities, where none are, expoſeth his ignorance both of hiſtory and divinity. [2]

1 Arch-bp *Laud's* ſpeech in the Star-chamber 1637 at the cenſure of *Baſtwick*, *Burton*, and *Pryn*. Remains, 2 v. p. 68.

2 See this point well argued in the 2d part of biſhop *Bilſon's* true difference between chriſtian ſubjection, and unchriſtian rebellion —— throughout. Q^to. *Oxon.* 1585.

The

The ſituation of affairs in England, and the deſire *Henry* had to know *his kinſman's ſentiments of his* new *claim*, gave birth to, what Mr. *Phillips* calls, *the moſt celebrated and important of all Pole's writings.* When a *florid writer* is diſplaying the merits of a renowned character, it is no hard matter to find words to recommend, what he is before-hand determined to praiſe. Our biographer, conſcious of his extreme partiality to his hero, has condeſcended to prepare us for a little heightening. He tells us, in the entrance to his book, that *great characters, are apt to raiſe us to a ſtrain, which ſobriety of thought cannot always approve: but when we write on them, this effect is ſtill more viſible; and the ſtrength of the impreſſion, we ourſelves feel, eaſily perſuades us we ſhall be able to draw our readers within the ſame vortex.* But to ſhew his cool and moderate ſpirit, he adds, that *he laboured under the oppoſite prepoſſeſſion:* or rather, if we may ſpeak out, he believed the generality of his readers did; and ſo, by kindly endeavouring to make a ſoothing apology, *for their remaining prejudices*, he hopeth to exculpate himſelf. To do it more effectually, he trieth their patience, by provoking them to the utmoſt; and treateth with a forward inſolence the cauſe, that he knows to be, moſt dear to, and ſacred with them. The unparallelled merits and abilities of him, who

P. 112. P. 113. Pref. p. vi. Pref. p. vii.

who is all along the ſubject of our author's panegyrick, are not to be exhibited, but the
P. 112. cenſure muſt fall, upon thoſe *amazing innovations, the renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy, and ſeparating from the catholic church:*
P. 113. which opened to *Pole, the neceſſity of treating this argument in a manner ſuited to the preſent exigencies.* How well that was done, will be beſt ſeen by conſidering the performance itſelf, free from any partial bias either for the author or his cauſe, and uninfluenced by contrary prejudices againſt both.

By the help of *Pole's* apology to the Emperor, inſerted in the firſt volume of *Quirini*, Mr. *Phillips* was enabled to give his his readers a ſketch of this *celebrated* per-
P. 133. formance, which, he complaineth, *is now become ſcarce*, having ſuffered the common *fate* of all topical labours. Encouraged by the good opinion which the *very modeſt* author of this work entertained of it himſelf, His *Engliſh* biographer ventureth to extoll it, for *the weight of the arguments, and the gracefulneſs with which they are employed.* We are, by this time, too well acquainted with Mr. *Phillips*, to look upon commendations of this ſort, in any other light than as things of courſe. We cannot, however, help ſuſpecting, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never ſeen the treatiſe, he here ſo laviſhly praiſeth: if he had, and *had weighed the*

the arguments free from paſſion and prejudice, would he have expoſed the nakedneſs of his hero, by ſuch fulſome and undeſerved encomiums upon his abilities? Had he been inclined to have inſulted his memory, he could not have done it more effectually, than by magnifying the *weight of his arguments*.

The ſtyle of *Reginald Pole* in this work *on the church's unity*, and indeed in all his writings, is good and *Ciceronian*; but too verboſe. He writes, as if he was conſcious of the neceſſity of enveloping himſelf in a cloud of words, to diſguiſe the poverty of his reaſoning. An indifferent reader cannot help being diſguſted with *Pole's* manner throughout. He enters upon the work with ſuch a ſpirit of acerbity, as fully manifeſts, that he laboured more to gratify his own vanity, and to feed his own ſpleen, than to convince *Henry* by the ſoothing language of duty and affection. He could not even command his temper at his firſt ſetting out; but, in the very introduction, and whilſt he is ſignifying his doubts, whether he ſhould take up his pen and write, or no; he indulgeth his reſentment in reproaching his friend, his benefactor, his patron. He tells the King, that it was not ſo much through any deſire of knowing the truth, that *he* had propoſed to his conſideration that new and uſurped dignity, which *he* had

had taken upon *himſelf*, of ſupreme head of the church of *England*, but that *he* might look upon the man of a contrary opinion as an enemy and a traytor, and puniſh him accordingly.' —— That how vain an attempt it would be, to perſuade the King to alter his opinion, they had experienced, who had loſt their lives for being of the ſame opinion with him, who had at firſt incurred *Henry's* hatred and diſpleaſure, for not giving up the cauſe of truth; receiving this as the reward of their innocency, to ſuffer that puniſhment which was due only to the vileſt of malefactors.[2]

1 *Ex altera parte, multa mihi ſunt impedimento, multa me deterrent. Ante omnia, quod tu non veritatis cognoſcendæ ſtudio, hoc mihi argumentum proponis, de poteſtate Pontificis Romani diſputandi, cui adjuncta cauſa eſt tui iſtius novi, & nunc primum uſurpati honoris, quo ſupremi Anglicæ eccleſiæ capitis jus tibi, ac nomen arrogaſti: nec quaſi de rebus in controverſia poſitis, quid probem, quæris, ... cum ſic alteri parti, & ei quidem quæ maxime cum veritate pugnat, adhæreas, ut qui contra ſentire ſe fateatur, eum tu hoſtis ac proditoris loco habeas, eandemque in illum pœnam, quam in ſceleratiſſimum quemque ſtatuas.*

Polus de unit. eccleſ. L. 1. p. 1. ed. *Verger.*

2 *Quam autem fruſtra me fatigarem, ſi te conarer deducere de ſententia, quidnam certius declarare poteſt, quam eorum, qui idem, quod ego, ſentiebant, nullum aliud ob crimen effuſus ſanguis? Qui cum initio odium tuum, offenſionemque propterea ſuſcepiſſent, quod veritatis cauſam deſerere noluiſſent: hoc ad ultimum aſſecuti videntur, ut ſceleratorum pœnas homines innocentiſſimi ſubirent.*

Ibid. Ibidem.

Was

Was this a proper method to beſpeak *Henry's* favour and attention? was ſuch language likely to divert him from his purpoſes? ſurely the fartheſt from it. But what ſhould honeſt *Pole* do? *Henry*, it will be ſaid, wanted to entrap him: *He did not doubt what his ſentiments were; but he choſe this ſhould be the date of that implacable enmity, with which he, ever after, perſecuted him and his family.* Be it ſo! he gained his end to his heart's deſire: and *Pole's* haſty violence gave the King the opportunity *of wrecking his vengeance on his family.* Had *Reginald* poſſeſſed but a common ſhare of prudence and diſcretion, he might eaſily have eluded the tyrant's art. But what, if this be not reckoning rather too haſtily? *Henry* had neither quarrelled with *Pole*, nor any of his family, at this time: and it was not till ſome years after, before his friends found any alteration in *Henry's* behaviour; and that was owing to provocations given him by them. The King might indeed ſuſpect, that *Reginald* favoured neither his divorce, nor his ſupremacy; and if he wanted any occaſion (which indeed, is far from being clear) to quarrel with his kinſman upon this account, this work ſufficiently juſtified his warmeſt reſentment. But the King *commanded him to write his opinion.* True. But if *Pole* diſapproved of his proceedings, could he not have written,

P. 112.

P. 122.

P. 113.

ten, with the gratitude of a penſioner, the duty of a ſubject, and the ſpirit of a chriſtian? Did his difference with the King compel him to have recourſe to weak and groſs invectives? When his paſſions could hurry him to ſuch lengths, at the entrance of his work, neither much temper, nor much reaſoning, could be expected in the progreſs of it.

Mr. *Phillips* has produced a ſtriking inſtance of the vanity and arrogance of *Pole*,
P. 133. *notwithſtanding the modeſty* he has aſcribed to him. *Reginald*, it ſeems, had ſo good an opinion of his own performance, that he told his friend *Priuli*, "that he was ſo engaged "in the defence of *Peter's* ſhip" (a frequent metaphor of *Pole* upon all occaſions) "that he had nothing more at heart, than "how to preſerve it from the aſſaults and "attempts of all thoſe pirates (how many "or various ſoever) that now or hereafter "might attack it." [1] A modeſt degree of confidence this, truly! And if Mr. *Phillips* had ever peruſed the work itſelf, he might have found in it many inſtances of equal

[1] --- *Ad Petri ſcilicet navis defenſionem, in qua nunc ita verſor, ut nihil mihi majori curæ ſit, quam ut eam contra omnium Piratarum conatus, & impetus non modo, qui jam facti ſunt, ſed & qui vel excogitari poſſint (qui multi, ut ſcis, poſſunt eſſe & varii) tutam & munitam reddam.*

Ep. ad Priolum. Quirini, v. 1. p. 426.

aſſu-

assurance. I will only produce one example of this spirit; of which it is hard to say, whether the enthusiasm of it is most to be pitied, or the profaneness of it to be detested. He tells the King, "that God commanded "him to abuse him, ——— Christ," He says, "ordered him to write these bitter "things, not to reproach him, but to shew "him his transgressions." The true cant this of every enthusiast! *Reginald* worked himself up to a proper pitch; and then presumptuously fancied the turbulent emotions of his own disturbed mind, to be the dictates of that spirit, which is gentle, and worketh by love.

The bitter, the vindictive wrath, which is kept up throughout this whole work of *Pole*, cannot be palliated by the feeble vindication which himself, and his admirers, offer in excuse of it. *The King*, we are told, *could not be wrought on to enter into himself, but from the sole dread of having his actions seen in their real light. Milder methods had been applied in vain.* But did P. 132.

1 --- *Idem dicere verissime possum, quod David de illo suo conviciatore credebat, Dominum mihi jussisse, ut tibi hoc meo scripto maledicam . . . Sed quæ mysteria nunc loquor? a quo sum jussus? quis Dominus me talia loqui jussit? idem Princeps qui communis tibi mihique est Dominus, Christus inquam me illa scribere jussit, non ut convicia tibi facerem, sed ut peccata tua ostenderem.*

Polus de Unit. Eccles. L. 4. p. 84.

Pole ever try any of these *milder methods*? and did this bitterness succeed? or if *Henry* was a brute, must He therefore lay aside all regard to decency and good-manners? If the one was outrageous, must the other be so too? So it seems he thought: and the natural lenity, mildness and humility of the gentle *Pole* was, through mere necessity, set aside; and he must needs try, what railing and scurrility would do. And what had *Henry* done to deserve *this asperity so contrary to Pole's own temper*? He had treated Sir *Thomas More*, and bishop *Fisher*, severely, cruelly, tyrannically. He had indeed. We are sorry those great men should fall under the displeasure of so furious a Prince. "Though they suffered" (as an old friend of *Pole* expressed it, in a letter to him) "by their own folly. Which "died, neither for their virtues, nor for the "profession of any such matter, which per-

P. 132.

1 *Eo usque semper abstinui a maledictis & conviciis . . . . . ut multis mea hæc lenitas, lenitudo potius quædam & demissi humilisque animi signum videretur. Ita semper natura abhorrui a maledictis . . . . quid ergo? si talis mea & natura & consuetudo est, . . . commisissem unquam ut in Regem . . . . qui mea studia benignitate sua fovet, in hunc igitur talem maledicta unquam mea sponte dicerem, nisi qui in me majus Imperium habet, hoc mihi imposuisset?* Ibid. ibidem.

Let the indignant reader remark this hypocritical cant. *Pole* certainly knew not what spirit he was of, when he impiously ascribed to the suggestion of God, the frantic ravings of fanatic spleen.

"taineth

"taineth to Christ's glory: but only for the "superstitious defence of that thing, for "the which I think hereafter, never wise "man will do." [1] Could *Pole* think, he took the right way to prevent any further severities, when he irritated *Henry* to the utmost; and collected together, and applied to him, all the hard, abusive names that belonged to an infidel, and a reprobate? Of all men, *Henry* was the last to be frighted by the bullying of a subject; who, most ungratefully, attacked him with every invective, that animated rancour could suggest. And moreover, what might add venom to his expressions, was, that he had transferred his allegiance from *Henry* to the Pope: he was to be his pensioner for the future; and upon that account might indulge himself the more in his illiberal railing, to convince his Holiness, that the breach, between himself and *Henry*, was got to such an height, that a reconciliation was impossible: and therefore he would blow the trumpet of war, and raise up those enemies both at home and abroad, who should disturb the tranquillity of *Henry's* reign. And all this forsooth! out of pure good will, if we will believe him. [2] This may be

1 *Starky's* letter to *Pole*. inserted in *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. Appendix, p. 190 —— 198.

2 *Hactenus ego contra Regem, cui sane ita me adversarium præstiti, ut eum jam perditum, & sibi, & regno suo,*

called haranguing, but it is not reasoning.
P. 133. We are desired however, *to examine the weight of the arguments.*

The *supremacy* of the bishop of *Rome* is the point, that *Pole* avowedly labours to establish. He tells the King in the beginning of the work, "that he could not offer "a greater injury to the church, than when "he deprived it of its head; and denied "the *Roman* pontiff to be the only head of "the church upon earth, and the vicar of "Christ." [1] If therefore *Pole* would, or could, exert the powers of manly reasoning, he would upon this subject do his utmost. The second book of the *church's unity* is allotted for the proof of this capital article: and some of the arguments shall be produced, as specimens of *Pole's weighty* method of arguing. The bishop of *Rome* being the successor of *Peter*; if that Apostle's primacy is proved, the others, he reckons, is so too. "When Christ told *Peter*, "he had prayed for his faith, [2] it was for

suo, quantum in me esset, restituerem, imprimisque Deo, & ecclesiæ filium & amicum redderem?

Ep. ad Edw. 6. sect. 45.

1 *Dico igitur, dico hanc abs te injuriam ecclesiæ inferri, qua haud scio an major potuerit, quod suum illi caput in terris auferas, cum pontificem Romanum unicum in terris ecclesiæ caput, & Christi vicarium negas.*

De Unit. L. 1. p. 3.

2 *Christus ad unum Simonem convertit sermonem, ... (Luc.* 22.) *quod perinde est, ac si diceret. Simon, cujus congre-*

"the faith of him alone, the faith of the "head; and when he added, when thou "art converted ſtrengthen thy brethren, this "was plainly committing his brethren, the "Apoſtles, to *Peter's* care only; the words "of St. *Luke* declare this fully, and ſhew "the will of Chriſt concerning his future "vicar. — *Peter* and *John* performed mi- "racles together; this ſhews clearly whoſe "perſon *Peter* repreſented: the beloved diſ- "ciple, joining himſelf to *Peter*, when his "Lord was taken away, declared by this "act, that the perſon of the Lord was "transferred unto *Peter*." —— And when "theſe two diſciples ran to the ſepulchre, "*John*, though he got there firſt, went not

congregationis te Principem & caput conſtitui . . . ſequitur enim --- Ego rogavi, ut non deficiat fides tua . . . Oratio inquam Chriſti pro fide unius, pro fide capitis. . . Sed adhuc totam rem manifeſtam faciunt, quæ mox ſequuntur verba Chriſti ad unum Petrum. Tu vero, inquit, converſus confirma fratres tuos. Quid apertius hic dici poteſt, cum cura & confirmatio fidei fratrum Petri, qui erant apoſtoli, committatur ſoli Petro? Ego rogavi &c. hæc, apud Lucam ſatis quidem aperte, Chriſti voluntatem de futuro ſuo vicario oſtendentia.

De Unit. L. 2. p. 38.

1 *Petrus cum Joanne conſociatus miracula edidit, id vel maxime ſignificet, cujus perſonam Petrus ſuſtineret, a quo dilectus ille Jeſu diſcipulus, eo qui diligebat jublato, non fere diſcederet, ſed ejus lateri, ut quondam Domini ſolebat, perpetuo adhæreret, eo ipſo declarans perſonam Domini in Petrum fuiſſe tranſlatam.*

Ibid. ibidem.

in,

"in, ſignifying, that he muſt wait his com-
"ing, who now occupied the place of
"Chriſt: but when *Peter* came and enter-
"ed into the ſepulchre, he alſo went in af-
"ter him; as if he had a mind to teſtify,
"that it was his privilege to go firſt into
"the ſepulchre of the dead Chriſt, to whom
"Chriſt himſelf had bequeathed his place."[1]
— Again. "Only *Peter* walked upon the
"water, not ſtaying for a ſhip, to go to
"his maſter. Only *Peter* drew the net a-
"ſhore. Theſe are ſpoken in a myſtery.[2]
"— When Chriſt ſaid unto him, feed my
"ſheep, without any exception, the whole
"church is committed to his care, and he
"is appointed the paſtor of it.[3] —— And

1 *Si igitur nihil erat, quod ad Petrum præcipue pertinere duceret, cur non qui prior accurrerat ſtatim ut venit, introivit? commodius profecto introiſſet in monumentum ſolus. Sed curſum repreſſit, . . . quid aliud ſignificans, quam expectari oportere eum, qui Chriſti locum obtineret? . . . venit autem Simon Petrus, & introivit monumentum. Sequiturque, tunc introivit & ille diſcipulus . . . quaſi ſignificare vellet, ingredi primum in monumentum Chriſti mortui, pertinere ad eum, cui Chriſtus ipſe locum ſuum eſſet relicturus.* Ibid. p. 39.

2 *Petrus, ſimul ac vidit Dominum in littore non expectavit, ut navigio, . . . ad eum veniret, ſed ſtatim ſeſe in mare demiſit, in quo perſonam Chriſti maxime expreſſit, ambulans ſuper aquam, cum cæteri navigio vehérentur. Itemque de Petro ſolo eodem loco dicitur Aſcendit Petrus & traxit rhete in terram, plenum quinquaginta tribus piſcibus. Quæ omnia in myſterio dicuntur.* Ibid. Ibidem.

3 *Verba ipſa nonne per ſe ipſa clara ſunt? ſi oves Chriſti paſcere a Chriſto ſumma paſtore Petrus jubetur, nonne Oves Chriſti curæ Petri committuntur? ſi omnes quicunque in eccleſia ſunt, Oves Chriſti ſunt, cum Oves Chriſti*

"the biſhop of *Rome* ſucceeded *Peter* in "his authority, for when Chriſt ſaid, lo, I "am with you always even unto the end "of the world, not indeed corporally pre- "ſent with you; but there ſhall never be "wanting thoſe, who ſhall repreſent my "perſon, and to whom I will give the ſame "divine power as to you:[1] now," ſays our acute reaſoner, "no other See, but that of "*Rome*, can reckon a conſtant ſucceſſion of "biſhops; which could not have been, if "that church had not been ſupported by "the word of Chriſt.[2] — And *Cyprian*,[3] "and *Hierom*,[4] call the church of *Rome*, "the See of *Peter*."

Theſe are ſome of thoſe *weighty* and irrefragable *arguments*, which *Pole* ſo *gracefully employs*, in this *moſt celebrated and important of all his writings*. To produce them, is to expoſe them; for in truth they deſerve no other notice, than the moſt ſo-

Chriſti ſine ulla exceptione, Petro committantur tanquam paſtori, nonne tota eccleſia illius curæ & gubernationi . . . . . attribuitur? nonne is jam paſtor totius eccleſiæ declaratur? Ibid. ibidem.

1 *Spiritu quidem nunquam a vobis diſcedam uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi, corpore certe præſens non ero: cæterum nullo tempore deerunt, qui perſonam meam ſuſtineant, quibus eandem quam tibi, divinam poteſtatem dabo, &c.* Ibid. p. 40.

2 *Quod de nulla eccleſia, niſi Romana . . . oſtendi poteſt, quod certe fieri non potuiſſet, niſi verbo Chriſti Roma . . . . . niteretur.* Ibid. p. 41.

3 Ibid. p. 44.

4 Ibid. p. 46.

vereign

vereign contempt: and though there be many paſſages in this work nervous and pathetic, yet nothing can be more idle and trifling, than the argumentative part of it. We do not therefore wonder to find, that they were pretty much deſpiſed when they were ſent firſt into *England*, as having nothing of *weight* in them.[1] And yet Mr. *Phillips*, loath to loſe a ſmart ſentence that ſtruck him, hath adopted for his own, this
P. 286. ſhrewd remark of *Quirini*[2] — *Thus, as the errors of Janſenius are ſaid to have found a grave prepared for them in the writings of Sadolet, it may be added, that Luther's have met with the ſame fate in thoſe of Contareni and Pole.* Poſitive aſſertions are ſooner made, than proved. *Contareni*, perhaps, reaſoning neither more *weightily*, nor more *gracefully* than *Pole*, the Friar's writings and doctrines were ſo far from *finding a grave* in the works of either of theſe, that they are ſtill extant, and in credit: whereas all the

1 *Quæ ad Regem, & ejuſdem conſultores a tua Paternitate in Britanniam ſcripta privatim mittuntur, ea crede cum maximis cachinnis excipi, & ceu nihil ponderis habentia irrideri.*

Anglus quidam Polo. *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diatribæ*, p. C. & *Ep.* p. 77.

2 *Janſeniſticæ doctrinæ tumulum in Sadoletica reperiri, quorundam Catholicorum Doctorum effatum eſt, pari ratione inſignem cladem a Contareno, & Polo retuliſſe doctrinam Lutheranam dicendum erit.*

Quirini, v. 3. Præf. p. 86.

dignity

dignity of the others, have hardly had *weight* enough with the learned world to preserve their labours; and they are better known, as cardinals, than as writers. But, so a compliment could be made to *Pole*, our joint authors, *Quirini* and Mr. *Phillips*, are much less sollicitous to examine the propriety of it, than how often they can offer up the grossest incense to the imaginary, faultless character of their all-perfect hero.

Burnet and *Verger* have fallen under the lash of *Quirini*'s pen, for presuming to censure this *most celebrated* performance. The cardinal[1] is highly offended, that the bishop should speak so disrespectfully of it, and say that it *was more esteemed for the high quality of the author, than for sound reasoning*. His *English* copier repeats the censure: but they differ in their reply to this *bold assertor*. The One refers us to the handsome things that *Casa* hath said of *Pole* in the life of *Bembo*.[2] The Other modestly says, that, *what has been already said, refutes this peremptory decision*. Mr. *Phillips* P. 134. note. P. 134. note.

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.* c. 5. p. 329, referring to *Burnet* hist. Ref. but making no reference to volume, book, or page; our writer has left his readers equally in the dark, where to find the bishop's just character of this trifling, flashy, self-sufficient performance of *Pole*. It occurs in v. 1. book 3. p. 221.

2 *Quirini*, ibid. p. 330.

must

must certainly think very meanly of his readers, if he flatters himself he can command their understanding, or their assent, at pleasure. What we have produced here, will, we hope, confirm bishop *Burnet's* opinion; and lessen the high conceit, that our author, or others, may entertain, of *the sound reasoning* made use of in this work.

Pref. p. x. Our biographer tells us, that he *might have trifled very learnedly with the misrepresentations of writers of some note, to which the course of his work had led him.* It would have done him no harm, to have looked into those writers a little more than he did. His knowledge lay in a narrower compass than comparing different historians: happily for him, his *learning* was acquired at an easier rate. The laborious *Quirini* had gone through the drudgery of collecting the greatest part of the materials requisite to illustrate his subject: and where he did not pursue the history, others, as little known, might easily enough be had to supply his deficiencies. *Le-Grand* has helped him to most of the particulars of *Henry's* divorce: where he ended, Mr. *Phillips* was forced to have recourse to his old co-adjutor. *Quirini* could enable him to display his judgment in collecting his materials, and his *learning* in defending *Pole*: the *English* were strangers to the cardinal's name and character; and

and all would go off, as his own, with eclat:

Labore alieno magno partam gloriam
Verbis in sese transmovet; qui habet salem.

Who could detect him? he called himself an author, who could prove him to be little more than a mere translator? what, if no body could? he must yet be conscious himself of his own vanity, and ever fear the shame of detection. And tho' his credit might be unimpeached, yet his industry and his care in the compilation of his materials, would be called in question. Had he condescended to have consulted those historians he gives himself the air to slight, they would have furnished him with many *documents* greatly to his purpose. He says indeed, that *access has been had to all our records*. We know it well. We find others did take that pains. But we doubt very much, whether Mr. *Phillips* himself ever consulted any one of those records: but where he does appeal to them, he well knows his parade of diligence cometh often times, from some of these slighted historians. Pref. p. x.

In the part now under consideration, our author resteth contented with what he found in *Quirini*,[1] to illustrate the history

1 *Diatriba ad Epist. Reg. Poli*, c. 5. from p. 307 --- 362. *Quir.* v. 1.

of

of *Pole's* work on the *church's unity*: he does not seem to have given himself any trouble, in inquiring into the sentiments of our own writers concerning that book, any further, than the information he received from the cardinal. *Burnet* and *Strype* have produced, from the public records, many *particulars* relating to this very treatise worth his notice; the omission of which would be deemed unpardonable in any impartial and accurate historian, who had but heard of their names, and was desirous to render his own work the more compleat.

Sampson's book, which the King sent to *Pole*, and against which he professedly wrote his own book, Mr. *Strype* has inserted in his memorials of the reformation.[2] From the same author we learn, how this *important* work was received in *England* by *Pole's* best friends, and well-wishers; and the trouble they gave themselves to state the matter fully and clearly to him. *Quirini*,[3] and his copier, tell us, that when P. 128. *Pole sent the work on the church's unity to the King, Henry wrote to him by the same Messenger.* Now, had Mr. *Phillips* consulted Bp *Burnet*, he would have communicated to him those private instructions, *Pole* en-

1 Vol. I. appendix, p. 109, *&c.*

2 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. c. 37 and 38. p. 289, *&c.*

3 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 340.

trusted

truſted with the meſſenger, who carried his book to the King.[1] And, what *his anſwer to Henry* really *was*, when he commanded him home to explain his book, is preſerved by Mr *Strype*.[2] P. 128.

The ſubject matter of correſpondence between *Pole* and his *Engliſh* friends, is ſtated in two long letters of *Reginald* to his confident *Contareni*,[3] and eludicated by *Quirini*, in the chapter above referred to.

1 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 160.

2 *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. appendix, p. 199.

3 Mr. *Phillips*, when he gives us the *ſubſtance of theſe letters*, p. 128, &c. rendereth theſe words of *Pole*, *ut præciſe & aperte negem, me domum rediturum, niſi Rex prius domum ipſe, id eſt ad eccleſiam redeat, a qua . . . erat alieniſſimus* (*Quir.* v. 1. p. 456.) Thus, *That he would return to his country, when he could do it with honour and ſafety*. But by what kind of conſtruction, is hard to ſay. It is agreeable to the liberty he takes in the next page, where relating the ſubſtance of *Cromwell's* and *Tonſtal's* remonſtrances, he makes *Pole* ſay, at the cloſe, that they made him *(beſides bewailing his country's misfortunes) endeavour to convey to the King that truth, which ſo many meaſures contributed to extinguiſh.* P. 129. Whereas *Pole's* own words are, *ſciant me nunquam illi defuturum . . . . quo minus veritatem, & ſalutarem ſententiam cognitam non omnibus modis, illius animo inculcem.* Ibid. p. 474.

But it would be tireſome to produce every inſtance, where this licentious humour of tranſlation is indulged; was this, or the faulty tranſlations, to be carefully noted, few of Mr. *Phillips's* authorities would be found to have eſcaped the correcting improvements of his luxuriant pen.

v. *Quir.* v. 1. *Ep. Poli Contareno*, p. 455, and p. 470.

His

His translator is indeed much more civil to *Pole* than any of his correspondents, or even *Quirini* himself; for he maketh *Cromwell* to address him (in the abstract, he has badly translated, of a letter from *Pole* to *Contareni*) under the style and title of *My Lord*; to which he had no more right or pretensions, than Mr. *Phillips*, I believe, hath; and which *Pole* himself could give him no reason to add, from the account he sent *Contareni* of the letter he had received from that minister of state. Sure I am, his other friends contented themselves with calling him, *Sir*, or *Master*: and if we may guess from *Pole's* absurd behaviour to *Cromwell*, or his malicious invectives against him, he had no reason to expect any further civilities from him, than he could legally claim.

P. 129.

Mr. *Phillips* proceeds and tells us, *Pole answered Tonstal's letter, which he says was rather a volume than an epistle.* *Pole* does indeed say this in a letter to his confidant *Contareni*; where he betrays a sufficient degree of vanity and self-conceit, to say it of *Tonstal's* letter, when his reply to it was so immoderately tedious and prolix. The bishop of *Durham's* letter is inserted by bishop *Burnet* amongst his records,[1] and containeth about 6 pages: *Pole's* reply is pre-

P. 134.

1 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 464.

served

ſerved by *Strype*, and filleth no leſs than 13 pages.[1] In this letter, the biſhop contented himſelf with attacking the foundation of the principles advanced by *Pole* in his late book; which drew from him that verboſe letter, which, with greater truth, may be called, *rather a volume than an epiſtle*. Upon this, *Tonſtal renewed his objections to the papal authority*, in a letter wrote in his own and *Stokeſley's* name, and ſent to *Pole* upon his nomination *to a red hat*, as he terms it; wherein he entered into a very minute examination of the *weighty* and convincing arguments of *Pole's* book.[2] Beſides theſe, there are two or three very earneſt letters written by *Thomas Starky*, a chaplain of the King, and an old and intimate friend of *Pole*; who expoſtulated with him, in a very home and ſenſible manner, upon his violent, perverſe, and diſloyal behaviour towards *Henry*.[3]

P. 137.

Had *Quirini* known any thing of theſe letters, his tranſlator would have heard of them too; and triumphed in the *acceſs that had been had to our* public *records*, for there are they *preſerved*: and if we compare them

Pref. p. x.

1 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. Append, p. 206.

2 *Tonſtal's* ſecond letter. *Knight's* life of *Eraſmus*, Append, p. LXVI. *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 299. and life of Parker, p. 47.

3 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 291, and p. 298. Append. p. 188, and p. 190.

with the ſhort and unfair repreſentation which the ſelf complacent *Pole* giveth, of thoſe he mentions, to *Contareni*, we ſhall find ſome human foibles in the character of this *moſt conſpicuous perſonage of his Epoch*; and that his *modeſt worth* was no more *void of vanity and oſtentation*, than other inferiour mortals.

Pref. xiii.

Pref. p. xii.

The trouble his friends in *England* gave themſelves, was all in vain. *Reginald* was not to be moved. Conſcious of his inſolence, and malignity againſt *Henry*, he was afraid to truſt himſelf into his power. *The Vicar of Chriſt* however ſoon relieved him of his embarraſſment, by ordering him to *Rome*, *in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ*: and glad he was to ſhelter himſelf under that all-powerful protection. And no entreaties or remonſtrances from *Henry*, or his own family, could prevent his taking this offenſive ſtep; though, he knew, they conſidered it, as the public renouncing of all duty and gratitude to his ſovereign, all regard to his friends and family, and all love to his country. He was ſo abſorbed in the *Vortex* of the Pope's ſupremacy, that theſe motives affected him not. From this time, he indulged himſelf in every malevolent diſpoſition towards *Henry*. To deceive him-

1 *Ep. Pauli Papæ 3. Reg. Polo.* *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 466.

ſelf

ſelf, and to diſguiſe it more artfully from others, he cloathed it in the garb of religion: and to palliate his over-acts of treaſon, he made his fears for the church, the vehicle of his railing. In a letter to *Contareni*, inſtead of ſpeaking with that degree of kindneſs, which a *milder heart* would have done, for the ſollicitude the king (who certainly loved him much) had ſhewed to reclaim him, if poſſible, and draw him to his duty; he rather betrays a wicked malignity of heart, in harbouring a ſuſpicion, that his life was in danger; and therefore he deſires his friend to adviſe with his Holineſs, how he might beſt eſcape the ſnare. Mr. *Phillips* indeed ſays, *the Event* Pref. P. xii. P. 138.

1 *Nunc, ut ſcires, quo ſtatu & quo periculo verſor . . . hunc tabellarium miſi, & ſimul ut rogarem, ut de hac re cum S. D. N. conferas maxime, qua ratione ab horum inſidiis, qui ex hac cauſa mihi erunt inimiciſſimi, tutus eſſe poſſim. De hoc enim maxime laboro, quod ſciam, poſtquam me verbis flecti poſſe deſperarint, eos omnia conaturos, ut me e medio tollant.*

Quirini, v. 1. *Ep. Poli Cont.* p. 483.

Mr. *Phillips* has taken his uſual liberties with this letter. *Pole* does not ſay, *the news of his journey had already reached the King's ears*: his own meſſenger, whom he had ſent to *Henry* to acquaint him with his invitation to *Rome*, was returned, and he ſays, brought back with him, the ſtrongeſt diſſuaſives againſt that journey. *Cromwell's* letter, he adds, was written in the King's name, *atque has ex Regis verbis ſcripſit*. His mother's and brother's letters, he adds, *quæ me maxime movebant, erant ſcriptæ ſic miſerabiliter ut . . . prope ſuccubuerim*. In conſequence of his reſolution to purſue his journey, he did not, as Mr. *Phillips* tells us, *write to Lord Cromwell*,

verified the prediction. But ſurely *Pole* indulged his fears too early. His enemies as he called, and had made them ſuch, had hitherto been ſtriving to recover his affection, by the arts of perſuaſion; and had given him no reaſon for this jealouſy. His over-cautious, affected anxiety might perhaps incline them to humour him in his own way; and to keep up thoſe alarming fears, which his own ſuſpicious temper had firſt raiſed.

P. 136. When *Charles the 5th was expected in Italy, not to be crowned by the Pope* (for that had been done ſome years before) but to have a conference with him concerning the affairs of *Italy*, and the pacification of *Germany*; *Pole*, in ſome letters of his to *Priuli* wrote about this time, expreſſeth great uneaſineſs at the apprehenſions of a renewal of friendſhip between *Henry* and the Emperor. He entreats him moſt earneſtly to prevent ſuch an accommodation: and when *Priuli* ſeemed to think it an improper ſeaſon, for the Emperor to meddle in *Engliſh* matters, becauſe of the wars he-

well, &c. p. 138. but to give the whole in his own words, *Pole* himſelf ſays. *Quare ſtatim nuncium remiſi ad Regem . . . tale vero reſponſum dedi, ut facile ſciret, tali in cauſa, nihil me ullius hominis minas facere. Tunſtalli vero litteris, vel potius volumini . . . non minus longa oratione . . . reſpondi. Parentibus autem, ut potui, ſatisfeci.*

† Father *Paul's* hiſt. of the council of *Trent*, B. 1. p. 78.

was

was engaged in: *Pole*, upon this, vehemently expoſtulated with him, in the long letter here referred to, for his worldly maxims; for being contented that the care of proſecuting the war, ſhould take place of that of religion. What was this, he tells him, but to defer that to a more convenient opportunity, which, God had commanded, ſhould be firſt of all conſulted.[1]. It requires but little ſagacity, to penetrate into *Pole's* real deſigns. He certainly wanted his friend *Priuli* to prevail upon *Contareni*, by the warmeſt perſuaſions, to inſtigate the Emperor, to put into execution the ſanguinary advice he had inculcated into him, in that impertinent harangue addreſſed to him in the body of his late work; which was, to divert his arms from the eaſtern to the weſtern Mahometan, as the greater foe of the two to Chriſt and his church.[2] *Pole's*

1 *Hoc tumultu belli nihil a me ejuſmodi expectari jubes. Quid ergo expectabimus, ut belli gerendi conſilia religionis cauſæ juvandæ conſiliis anteponantur? At hæc poſt ſinito bello commodius agentur. Ita ne vero, quæ Deus primo loco habenda cenſuit, tu in ſecundum rejicies, & dices commodius illic repoſni? . . . An hoc modo pericula bellorum evitantur, ſi ejus cauſæ ſecundo loco ratio habeatur, in cujus manu ſunt omnes victoriæ? . . . . An animus tuus tanti beneficii in Chriſti eccleſiam conſcius dubitare de victoria poſſit?*

Quirini, v. 1. *Ep. Poli Aloyſio Prioli*, p. 451.

2 *Ne dubitare quidem poſſum, multo graviora pati poſſe ſub hoc Occidentali Turca Chriſtianos, quam ſub Orientali, quanquam ſub utroque gravia, ſed hic gravior Chriſti hoſtis,*

ſubſequent behaviour will fully juſtify the ſeverity of this remark.

P. 131. *Reginald's* hiſtorians are as much at a loſs to defend him from *the capital objection of a perſonal animoſity and ſpirit of revenge*, as ever *Pole* himſelf was. But if he was blameleſs in this reſpect, what occaſion had he to take ſo much pains to juſtify himſelf? If his reproof of *Henry* proceeded from love, how came his own friends to miſtake it for virulence? If he was wronged, by being charged with too much vehemence in this work, would he not have ſoftened his language, in the apology which he addreſſed to the Emperor ſome years afterwards? If the former treatiſe was written in the heat of paſſion and reſentment, by that time he might have cooled a little, and profited by advice and experience. But his implacable, revengeful malignity (for his perſeverance in theſe opprobrious reproaches of his ſovereign, cannot well be called by any other name) is expreſſed in that apology, in ſtill ſtronger terms.

Quirini, one of thoſe who will always have the laſt word, in ſome prefatory diſcourſes to the 3 firſt volumes of *Pole's* epiſtles, ' labours moſt ſtrenuouſly to vindicate

tis, qui nomen Chriſtiani tenens, in ſervos Chriſti ita ſævit.

Quirini, v. 2. *Ep. Reg. Poli Contareno*, p. 198.

1 *Epiſtola Schelhornii cum animadverſionibus*, in the 1ſt

him from this imputation. What others may call rancour and hatred, he ſays, is all love and mildneſs. How ſo? why, there are many pious wiſhes for the King's reformation, in this and the other writings and letters of *Pole*. We believe *Pole* to be full as weak a bigot, as he was a reaſoner; and that he could at any time quiet his conſcience, by giving a pious turn to his venom. This is no uncommon, or extraordinary caſe.

The oration in the 3d book, *where the diſcourſe is turned from the King to the Emperor*, being looked upon as the moſt exceptionable part of the whole work, the cardinal thinks he has fully vindicated his favourite character, by ſaying, that if *Pole* intended the ruin, rather than the ſafety of the King, he would have ſent it directly to the Emperor, rather than to *Henry*;[1] and therefore it was only to forewarn him of the danger he was in, and kindly to ſhew him how to avoid it:[2] that is to ſay, in plain P. 131. note.

1ſt volume. *Præfatio ad lectorem, & Epiſt. altera Schelhornii, cum animadverſionibus*, in the 2d volume. *Judicum Lipſienſe cum animadverſionibus*, in the 3d. *Quirini*, as well as *Pole*, was fond of writing, and never would give up a point. But he was drove hard in theſe animadverſions, and forced to repeat, over and over again, thoſe arguments, the ſubſtance of which Mr. *Phillips* has given, p. 132.

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Præf.* p. xxx.

2 Ibid. ibid. *Præf.* p. lxii.

and

Engliſh, *Pole* choſe to bully his Prince; and vainly thought, he would be moved by ſuch diſtant threats. But will this leſſen either the vanity, or the forwardneſs, of this young reprover? *As to the charge of hatred of his Prince; the reluctance he always ſhewed to any one ſeeing the work but Henry, is all the juſtification he can ſtand in need of*, in Mr. *Phillips's* opinion. If any marks of real love and duty appeared, we would liſten to this defence: but his actions and letters totally contradict it. Before this work was ſent to the King, beſides *Priuli* and *Contareni*, *the reviſers* of it; *Beccatelli*, and the arch-bp of *Naples*, afterwards Pope *Paul* the 4th, and others, ſaw it: and the only reaſon, of *Pole's unwillingneſs of its being ſhewn to Clement the 7th*, was, leſt it ſhould come by any means to the King of *England's* ears.

P. 132. P. 132. P. 132.

It was ſome few years after printed privately at *Rome*, when *Pole* was legate in *Spain*, by order of the Pope, and advice and conſent of *Contareni*: and though great care was taken to conceal it, yet ſome copies of it got, very early, abroad; for *Damian a Goes* wrote to *Pole*, in 1540, from

1 Ibid. Ibid. *Ep. Poli*, *Priolo*, p. 439.
2 Ibid. v. 4. *Ep. Poli Magiſtro Sacri Palatii*, p. 92.
3 Ibid. v. 1. *Ep. Poli*, *Priolo*, p. 443.
4 *A. D.* 1539, or 1540. *Quirini*, v. 1. pref. p. xix. *Diatriba*, p. 313. and v. 4. Ep. *Poli* — p. 85.

Louvain

Louvain, to beg a copy of him; telling him, that the only one which had found its way into *Flanders*, had fallen into the hands of the *English* reſident, and been burnt by him.[1] But notwithſtanding all the pains to ſuppreſs it, it could not be ſuppoſed, that a book wrote upon ſuch an occaſion, and by ſuch a perſon, could be kept an entire ſecret. It is rather aſtoniſhing, it could remain ſo long in private hands, conſidering the ſufficient authority we have for ſaying, that *Pole* was not at all ſhy of communicating it to choice and truſty friends. *Verger*, one as likely to know this fact as any body, being at that time a favourite of the court of *Rome*, and the *Pope's* Nuncio in *Germany*, tells us, "that he made "preſents of his book, to Popes, Cardinals, "Biſhops, Kings, and Princes, whom he

1 *Quirini*, v. 3. *Ep. Poli*, p. 37. How ſome of *Pole's* foreign friends fed themſelves with the hopes, either of the red hat's overſpreading, or perhaps that the triple crown might be united to the imperial crown of *England*, we may gueſs from the curious concluſion of this letter of *a Goes* ---- *valebis ampliſſime Pole, quem, ſi in meis auguriis aliquid veri eſt, adhuc Regem Angliæ videbimus, quod cum evenerit, fac ut memor ſis noſtri, & prophetiæ noſtræ. Lovanii*, 12 *Octobris*, 154. *A Goes's* zeal for his friend was pretty warm: and *Pole*, to do him juſtice, did not encourage his ſooth-ſaying correſpondent at all; but plainly told him, he believed his prayers would do him more good, than his predictions. Ibid. *Ep. Poli*, *a Goes*, p. 38.

"was

"was desirous to oblige."[1] *Sleidan* likewise, mentioning this book and the occasion of *Pole's* writing it, adds, "they say, he "printed his book at *Rome* at his own "charge, and ordering all the copies to be "brought to him, gave them out only to "the Pope and cardinals, and to his special "friends; for he was willing to stand fair "in their opinion, and was likewise afraid, "it's probable, of falling under the censure "of those, who had several times heard "him discourse very differently upon that "subject."[2] And this is moreover confirmed, from the frequent mention there is made of this book, in very many letters which passed between *Pole* and several of his friends, and the prolix account given of it, to some of his correspondents, long before *Verger* published it.

P. 131. note. Mr. *Phillips* tells us, that *Verger procured a copy of the work, . . . and published it with the most virulent notes. His chief invectives*, he adds, *have no other foundation than his own mistake. Reginald, in the third book, turns his discourse from the King to the Emperor, and continues, through several pages, in this figure; and Verger represents this diversion of speech as a separate work*, &c.

1 --- *mercatus gratiam his exemplaribus a Pontificibus, Cardinalibus, Episcopis, Regibus atque Principibus quibus placere studuit. Præf. ad opus Poli*, &c. p. 2.

2 *Sleidan*, B. 10. p. 210.

This

This it is to write at random. From this account, we are pretty ſure, that Mr. *Phillips* hath never ſeen either of the books that *Verger* publiſhed upon this occaſion: nor indeed did he ſufficiently attend to the information *Quirini* could have given him, who clearly diſtinguiſhes between them both.[1] The firſt book (if a ſmall pamphlet may be called a book) that *Verger* publiſhed, was that addreſs or oration to the Emperor, by itſelf; which ſo far from *repreſenting as a ſeparate work*, that in the very title page, he expreſſly aſſerts the contrary, ſaying that it was *extracted from it*.[2] At the end of the dedication, wherein he charges *Pole* with once favouring their doctrine, he tells his friend, he will ſhortly ſend him the whole work from whence he took this oration.[3]. Then follow ſome ſevere and ſarcaſtical notes or ſcholia, chiefly reflecting upon the ſuppoſed incongruity of

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.*, p. 324.

2 The title runs thus, *Oratio Reginaldi Poli, &c. --- excerpta ex ejus libris, quibus titulum fecit, pro unitatis eccleſiaſticæ defenſione, cum ſcholiis Athanaſii. A. D.* 1554. A thin 4to, containing not many pages.

3 It is dedicated thus. *Athanaſius N. Paſtori Auguſtano — Scio cardinalem Polum . . . . ſe non abhorrere a noſtra doctrina, atque hoc ipſa re declaraturum dixiſſe, ſi comitia celebrentur. . . . unde poſſis judicium facere, quam peritum artificem in diſſimulando habueris ſub tuo tecto, &c. Brevi mittam ad te totum eum librum, ex quo orationem deſcripſi.*

Pole's

Pole's profeſſion and behaviour. The next year (1555) *Verger* was as good as his word, and publiſhed the whole work, and *commented on it*, ſays our knowing author, *with all the acrimony of an adverſary*. But he did not learn this from *Quirini*, in the place from whence he took, what, by ſtopping in the middle of a ſentence, he is pleaſed to call, an *advantageous teſtimony of the performance*; whereas the cloſe of that ſentence gives quite another turn to it, and is far from being a compliment, either to the honour or the honeſty of *Pole*. And moreover the cardinal is there cenſuring *Verger* for the bitter conſtruction he made of *Pole's* care to conceal the publication of his book; and refers the reader to *Verger's* preface to that work, which, he ſays, he printed *cum Antidotis*,[2] (which Mr. *Phillips* ſeemeth to miſtake for *Notes*) exhibiting as a proof of *Verger's* invectives, *that very paſ-*

P. 134. note.

1 *Scripſit hic libros quatuor de unitate eccleſiaſtica: in hos quicquid unquam ab ullo ſcriptum pro pontifice acute & callide & ſubtiliter fuit, undique congeſſit, magnis eloquentiæ luminibus*, non ad veritatis lucem, ſed ad tegumentum mendaciorum, per ſummam fraudem atque malitiam. *Verg. Præf.* p. 2. cited by *Quir.* v. 1. *Diat.* p. 374.

2 *Quo magis candide, quo magis pacate a Polo iſta narrantur de cura a ſe ſuſcepta in celando libro ſuo ... eo acerbiorem, eo virulentiorem Vergerii de eodem argumento orationem reperiri in præfatione quam iſte appoſuit libro Poli a ſe* cum Antidotis, *anno* 1555 *Argentorati evulgato*. Ibid. ibid.

ſage,

ſage, which our *Engliſh* writer, by curtailing it, would impoſe upon his readers, as *an advantageous teſtimony, from an adverſary, of the performance.*

So far from it, that it appears from this and other places of the preface, that *Verger* had really a contemptible opinion of it, and looked upon it as a very ſhallow *performance*. He ſaith, "that *Pole* hath "urged no new arguments: that he hath "indeed ſome ſtrokes of oratory, not of "ſenſe to add *weight* to his concluſions, "but of words only, taken from the ſhops "of rhetoricians; to fill the ear, but not "convince the judgment; and they ap-"plied in ſuch a manner, as to give it the "air of a juvenile, more than a grave per-"formance." *Verger's* judgment of this verboſe flimſy work, is, we ſee the ſame, in other words, with that of *Burnet*; and ſo unfortunate is Mr. *Phillips* in appealing to

1 *In hoc libro legendo, animadverti, Polum nullo argumento uti, quo non ſint uſi in concludendo alii, neque ullum telum emittere, quod non jactum ſit a reliquis, qui Papatum defenderunt. Ornamenta quædam attulit, non ſententiarum, quæ pondus afferant concluſionibus, ſed verborum e Sophiſtarum officinis, quæ aures impleant, non ſatisfaciant mentibus eorum, qui legunt, & ea ipſa ita adhibita ſint, ut magis exercitationis, cujuſdam juvenilis videantur, quam ſeriæ actionis.* --- He had before made this remark, *Palus, omnia ſua levia & anilia argumenta, tanquam fucoſo auro, ſic verborum inflato ornatu, in quibus veritas occultaretur, mendacium defenderetur, in vulgus prodere conatus eſt, &c. Verger. Præf.* p. 3.

the

the teſtimony of the former, that, we fear, he will hardly eſcape the cenſure of being
P. 134. note. an ignorant, as well as a falſe and *bold aſſertor*. For this is not the only blunder he makes concerning *Verger*, or his writings.
P. 131. note. He had told us before, that *Verger publiſhed* the work on the church's unity *with the moſt virulent notes*. He did not. He publiſhed it *without any notes at all*. Nor
P. 131. did he then make any objection to *Pole's animoſity and ſpirit of revenge* againſt *Henry*: for there he takes no notice at all of it. The virulent notes, he might have learned from *Quirini*,[1] were not added to the work; but were thoſe few inſerted at the end of the oration when he publiſhed it by itſelf: afterwards, when the whole came out, it was printed without any notes at all. There was indeed a ſharp preface prefixed to it, but in that, *Verger* took no notice of any difference between *Pole* and *Henry*, it was not neceſſary, as he had done it before. He only "reproached *Reginald* for his paltry and "diſingenuous behaviour in diſperſing his "book with ſuch privacy, that no copies "could be procured to expoſe the venom

[1] *Polus exeruit pariter Chriſtianum zelum in oratione ad Carolum Cæſarem . . . quamque typis edendam curavit, adjunctis virulentiſſimis ſcholiis, an. 1554. ſub Athanaſii nomine latens, Petrus Paulus Vergerius, quod paulo poſt de tito opere (non ſine antidotis ait ipſe) pariter præſtitit.* Quirini, v. 1. p. 324. See alſo, p. 374.

"of

"of it: that difficulty being got over," he says, "he found it did not answer expec-"tation. Instead of being a formidable de-"fence, it was an empty nothing: he was "therefore willing to exhibit it to the world "as an harmless performance. But to pre-"vent its doing any mischief to ignorant "persons, or those not used to such kind "of writings, he had, by way of antidote, "added some treatises written upon the same "subject by *Luther* and other learned men; "by which they might be enabled to trace "the rise and progress of the papal power." This is the substance of the preface: and those treatises of *Luther*, and some other reforming divines, are published, as well as *Pole's* book, without any notes or remarks whatever.

Mr. *Phillips* proceeds on in the same note, and says, *the argument* (of *Pole's* disloyal animosity, I suppose) *was taken up, about 25 years ago, though with much more decency, by Schelhorn, public professor at Hamburg. Schelhorn* calls himself, and so doth *Quirini* style him, *Ecclesiasta & Bibliothecarius Memingensis*. But how Mr. *Phillips* came to remove and send him to *Hamburgh*, I know not; for, if living, I believe, he is still resident at *Memingen*. And the argument he took up, was managed by him with very great ability, and very great candour, in a long and accurate history of P. 131.

this

this work of *Pole* on the church's unity, and afterwards in a controversy with *Quirini*,[2] whose invincible obstinacy and overbearing method of arguing so confounded the modest *Sohelhorn*, that seeing no end of such a dispute, he fairly gave up the point, being equally tired of the contest and the adversary.

To make the note compleat, our author goes on in the same careless, blundering manner, and informs us, that *Gardiner, Tonstal, and Sampson attacked the dogmatical part of the work, and the two last, with Stokesley, bestowed abuse, very liberally, on the author.* Where did Mr. *Phillips* learn all this? He had it not from *Quirini*: tho' it is true, he does name them all together in one place; but not so much as adversaries of *Pole*, as of his cause; and as inferior in worth to *More, Fisher*, and *Warham*.[3] Our author's memory, we fear, hath here failed him a little; and he forgetteth what, some pages back, he himself had

P. 131. note.

1 *Historia operis, quod Reginaldus Polus adversus Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione olim conscripsit.*

Almeici hist. eccles. & Litt. tom. 1. p. 1. &c.

2 Prefixed to *Quirini's* first and second volume.

3 *Si equidem causæ adversarios, cum laudatissimis ipsius patronis, comparandos; nancisci valuisset, Gardinerius, Tunstallus, Stokesleius, Sampson, nimis quam distant a Mori, Fisheri, & Warami præstantia.*

Quirini, v. 1. *Diat.* p. 366.

asserted

asserted from his own oracle,[1] that *Sampson's and Gardiner's treatises* were prior to *Pole's*; therefore they could not well attack the dogmatical part of a work, which was not perhaps, when they wrote their books, so much as thought of. And if he will deign to look into *Tonstal's* and *Stokesley's* letters, now he knows where to find them, he will see in them *no abuse at all*, but great friendship, great tenderness, and sound reasoning, thrown away upon the obstinate and inflexible *Pole*. P. 112.

Verger, having been thus instrumental in the publication of this work *on the church's unity*, we will add a few lines concerning this memorable personage. He was bishop of *Justinople* or *Capo d'Istria* in *Italy*, and had been employed for many years by Pope *Clement* the 7th, and his successor *Paul* the 3d, as their Nuncio in *Germany*.[2] He had been at *Augsbourg*, at *Worms*, at *Prague*, at *Naples*, and other places, to treat with the Emperor, and the reformed Princes and States, about religious matters, and the calling of a council; and was in those interviews and conferences, a very able and active instrument in the Pope's behalf; who was dissuaded from rewarding his services, as

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 308.

2 *Vergerius cujus sedula opera Clemens 7, ac Paulus 3, per Germaniam usi fuerant, vir magnæ doctrinæ & Ferdinando Regi . . . valde carus.*

Thuanus, L. 5. *A. D.* 1548.

he intended, by advancing him to the purple, upon this ſuggeſtion, that he had been ſo long and ſo often in *Germany*, that he was become a *Lutheran*. *Verger*, to wipe off this aſperſion, was deſirous to prove his orthodoxy, by writing againſt the apoſtates of *Germany*. This obliged him to converſe as much with their books as a divine, as he had done before with their perſons, in the character of a ſtateſman. He ſoon found the difficulties of what he had undertaken. Surpriſed and confounded at the ſtrength and ſolidity of the reformers reaſonings, he was convinced by the force of thoſe arguments, he could not ſatisfactorily anſwer; and became, by degrees, a convert to thoſe very principles, which he had at firſt ſat down to confute. The vigilance of inquiſitors ſoon diſcovered, or ſuſpected, his change of opinion; and obliged him to fly from his dioceſe. The council of *Trent* being then met, the biſhop went there to vindicate himſelf; but as ſo great a crime as hereſy was objected againſt him, he was, by the Pope's expreſs orders, neither permitted to take his place there, nor to juſtify himſelf. Theſe and other indignities being offered to him, he retired firſt to *Padua*, where being a witneſs of the deplorable end of the deſpairing *Spira*, he was ſo greatly affected with that ſhocking ſcene (an account of which he ſoon after publiſhed)

that,

that, never to experience such dreadful agonies of a guilty conscience for denying the truth, he fully resolved to leave his country, and friends, and all that he had; and go where he might safely profess and teach that doctrine, which, upon the most rational inquiry, and clearest conviction, he saw most agreeable to the gospel of Christ. Leaving *Italy*, he went first to the *Grisons*, where he preached for some years in the *Valteline*; till he was called, by the Duke of *Wittenburgh*, to *Tubingen*; where he spent the remainder of his days, in doing service to that cause, which, upon the noblest motives of religion and conscience, he had so sincerely embraced, by writing and translating books to strengthen and support it.

Pole, in the work we have been considering, hath made the execution of *More* and *Fisher*, one great topic of his invective against the King. His biographer, after repeating what is said of them in the apology to the Emperor, displays his own eloquence, in illustrating the character of the one, and bemoaning the fate of the other. *Sir Tho-* P. 115.

1 *Sleidan*, B. 21. p. 475 --- 477. *Seckendorf*, L. 3. p. 95 --- 98. And again, p. 601. *Pallavicini*, L. 6. c. 13. sect. 3. & L. 15. c. 10. sect. 13, 14. Father *Paul*, B. 2. p. 154. And *Verheiden* (p. 152) *Adamus* (p. 116) *inter vitas Theol. exter.* *Bayle* (article *Verger*) *Clarke* (p. 676) and *Fuller* (p. 288) have, all of them, given a short detail of *Verger*, in their collection of lives.

tas More, he says, *was one of the greatest ornaments, if not the greatest, in every kind of various excellence, this nation has ever boasted.* We do not desire to lessen the high encomiums bestowed upon either of these worthies. It is impossible to justify all *Henry's* rigorous proceedings against *More*, and his associate in affliction, the bishop of *Rochester*. There might possibly be some provocation, to us unknown, which irritated an inflammable tyrant, to prosecute with unrelenting severity, those whom he formerly held so dear to him. They were considered as the heads of the papal and imperial parties in *England*: and the King might deem it necessary to confirm his new made laws, by sacrificing to them two such eminent and respectable opponents. They were indeed hardly and cruelly dealt with. In contemplating their characters, we are heartily sorry to find any thing that can lessen their just reputation. But who can help regretting, that *More*, with all his excellent abilities, and liberal way of thinking, should condescend to be the tool of bigots; should learn to rail and revile for the honour of religion; and that all the amiable accomplishments of his younger years, should, in the latter part of his life, be lost in a narrow, superstitious turn of mind? Who could think, that the free and sprightly writer of the *Utopia*, should be

so

so much devoted to the violent churchmen of those days, as to become a persecutor, and to glory in being the plague of hereticks? nay he was so carried away with his prejudices, as seriously to defend himself for them, and that too in a letter to *Erasmus*;[1] who would not think the better of him, for indulging in himself that bitter, persecuting spirit, which is equally a disgrace to religion and humanity. We have before noted some instances of his activity in "promoting inquisitions and cruelties, scarce to be reconciled with what "is said of the humanity of his nature." "*Ovid* has two lines which characterize, "and suit him, as if they were made for "him;

Cœpisti melius, quam desinis: ultima primis
Cedunt: dissimilis hic vir, & ille puer.
Ep. IX, 23.[2]

The bishop of *Rochester* had been much deceived in his tamperings and correspondence with the *Holy Maid of Kent*; and had thereby given *Henry* greater advantages over him, than the more cautious Sir *Thomas More*. There was no doubt, but the

1 *Quod in epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiosè feci. Nam omnino sic illud hominum genus odi, ut illis, nisi resipiscant, tam invisus esse velim, quam cui maxime, quippe quos indies magis atque magis experior tales, ut mundo ab illis vehementer metuam.*
Moriis Erasmo. Eras. Ep. L. 27. p. 1076.

2 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 131.

3 *Jortin's Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 192.

artful

artful managers of that Nun's tricks and revelations, did it with a view to foment a rebellion; and were desirous of having their infamous scheme countenanced, by some persons of real and indisputable worth. Amongst others, they imposed upon the credulous age of the well-meaning *Fisher*, whom they drew into their snare: and nothing but obstinacy, too often the attendant upon years, was the occasion of his ruin. *Cromwell* in a long letter to him, wherein he candidly proved his insufficient exculpation of himself,[1] with a tenderness and humanity which did him honour, took the trouble to inform, and the pains to persuade him to it, that any kind of submission to the King would insure his pardon.[2] The bishop, by not hearkening to this friendly and salutary advice, must be greatly answerable for the sad consequences that followed. But it was the folly and the vanity of the Pope, in sending him a red hat, that most of all contributed to hasten the end of that life by a violent death, which otherwise, in the course of nature, could not have held out much longer.

1 *Burnet* hist. Ref. v. 1. p. 153, 154. *Collier* eccl. hist. v. 2. p. 97. who has given *Fisher*'s defence of himself, in his letter to the house of lords, p. 87. of the same volume.

2 *Burnet*, hist. Ref. v. 1. Records, p. 123.

For

For a proof of *Fiſher's great knowledge*, we are referred to a ſpeech he made upon the ſubject and *caſe of the ſupremacy*, — *and preſerved by Lord Herbert*.[1] But if this was all the proof of his *great knowledge*, we ſhould be to ſeek for it elſewhere. For, as it contains only ſome hackneyed, ſtale arguments, and groundleſs aſſertions, and calleth the Pope's court a kind of chancery to all other courts of juſtice, there is nothing worthy of notice in it. But moreover, Lord *Herbert* doth not relate it for biſhop *Fiſher's*, or give the leaſt reaſon to think it was his. Mr. *Dod*, with more modeſty than our writer, contents himſelf with ſaying, "that ſome aſcribe this remarkable "ſpeech to biſhop *Fiſher*."[2] P. 118.

The authority of *Fuller's* church hiſtory is appealed to, for *a very circumſtantial and intereſting account of the biſhop's execution*. *Fuller* is indeed very minute and particular in the relation he hath given of this fact. But let *Fuller* ſpeak for himſelf; and declare from what quarter he had his intelligence, and how little it was to be depended upon. Having been favoured with a MS life of *Fiſher*, he was willing to com- P. 119. note.

[1] Lord *Herbert's* words are, one of the council, who much favoured the papal Authority, ſpake in this manner — naming no one. p. 390.

[2] *Dod's* church hiſtory, p. 95.

municate

municate the contents of it to the public; "the rather," says he, "because I collected "the same out of his MS life, compiled by "*Richard Hall*, of *Christ*-College in *Cam*-"*bridge*. — Only be it premised, that the "same *Hall* was a stiff *Roman* catholick; and "therefore accordingly must abatement be "made in his relations." "A book," says "he in another place, "which when lately "in *manuscript*, I then more prized for the "*rarity*, then since it is now printed I trust "for the *verity* thereof." And when he cometh to his author's tale concerning the *insults* said to be offered to his body, *Fuller* saith, "It will hardly enter into my be-"lief. Besides, seeing the King vouchsafed "him a noble prison, and an honourable "death, it is improbable he would deny "him a necessary equipage for a plain and "private burial. Wherefore — I listen to the "*relation* as inflamed by the reporter's *pas-*"*sion*."[3] The indignities, this scribler talks of, are mentioned by no other writer; *Role*, *Sanders*, *Gratiani*, and *Harpsfield*, who would have rejoiced at such a subject of re-

1. *Fuller's* church hist. B. 5. p. 202.
2 His history of *Cambridge*, p. 99.
This MS life of *Fisher* hath been since published, and is that *wretched romance*, entitled *the life of the renowned John Fisher, &c. by Thomas Bailey, D. D.*, whose name it bears instead of *Hall* the real writer.
v. *Wood. Athen. Oxon.* 2d ed. v. 1. p. 569.
3 *Fuller's* church hist. B. 5. p. 205.

proaching

proaching *Henry* for his barbarities, being silent about them, we may venture to pronounce them absolute falshoods.

There is nothing more contradictory to the laws of history, than to write with a prejudiced and passionate attachment to particular persons or opinions. He who industriously catches at every occasion to express private malignity and malevolence; and he who wilfully suppresses every circumstance which would give a favourable construction to the actions of those, whose persons and whose party he dislikes; may be said to write, not so much with a view to inform and convince others of the truth, as to gratify the resentment of private spleen and animosity. To enter thus into the conduct of former times, with that keenness and asperity, which can hardly be justified even in personal altercations, is not the way *to cover heats*, but to *spread and perpetuate them.* Pt. 2d. P. 166.

Mr. *Phillips* hath drawn the character of the unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, not with the coolness of a writer of the present times, but with a virulence, becoming only the malicious invectives of the railing *Sanders*, and the tatling *Gratiani*. Forgetting the regard due to himself and his reader, he descendeth to such base slanders, as are equally offensive to religion, to good-nature, to humanity. And what were *Anne's* peculiar

culiar offences, which, at this diſtance of time, could occaſion ſuch a torrent of rancorous abuſe? Was ſhe the cauſe of *Catherine's* divorce? was it not begun before ſhe entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of the King's regard for her? When the learned throughout *Europe*, when men of the greateſt eminence at home, condemned *Henry's* marriage with his brother's widow, and wiſhed for the diſſolution of it; nay, when the Pope himſelf allowed it diſputable by entering into the merits of it? where was the offence, or where the ſcandal, if a lady liſtened to the declarations of an honeſt love? What young mind could well withſtand the honourable offers of a great King? Was there not another lady of high rank talked of for the King, and whom *Wolſey* had recommended to him, before *Anne Bullen* had even appeared at court? But ſomething muſt be ſaid to ſtigmatize the rival and ſucceſſor of *Catherine*.

The account that our biographer hath given *of this unfortunate woman*, as he calleth her, is taken, for the moſt part, from that trifling collector of hear-ſay ſtories, *Gratiani* biſhop of *Amelia*; whoſe florid embelliſhments of the queen's execution

P. 125. note.

1 *Clarke fidelis ſervi ſubdito infideli reſponſio*, p. 40 ---- 46. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 84. *Heylin's* hiſt. of queen *Elizabeth*, p. 87. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 775.

ſtriking

striking the gay fancy of Mr. *Phillips*, he hath adopted for his reader's entertainment.[1] But not thinking this sufficient authority, he hath ventured expresly to appeal to *Sanders*, and the bulk of *our historians*, who *in general*, he says, *agree in the character* he hath drawn of *Anne Bullen*. The extreme malignity of *Sanders's* disposition rendereth him an exceptionable witness: and one, who would not say it, if he could help it, makes this just and soft remark upon him, "that to fail both in truth "and temper, is too common with him."[2] His evidence, as a detestable liar, is therefore positively rejected. And what say the other vouchers? *Stowe* says, "when the "queen was arraigned within the *Tower*, "she made so wise and discrete answers that "she seemed fully to clear herself of all "matters laid to her charge, but being "found guilty, judgment was pronounced "on her."[3] *Godwin* making reflections upon this *memorable catastrophe*, as Mr. *Phillips* calls it, says, "an act of parliament a-"gainst her shall not work on my belief."[4] *Fuller* tells us, "in the sentence of divorce,

P. 125. note.

1 *Gratianus de casibus virorum illustrium. De quatuor Britanniæ reginis*, p. 263.

2 *Collier*, v. 2, p. 87.

3 *Stowe*, p. 572. To the same effect Sir *R. Baker* in his chronicle, p. 283.

4 *Godwin's* annals, 1536, p. 82.

"no

"no particular cauſe is ſpecified. Sure I am, "there is no daſhing on the credit of the "lady, nor any the leaſt inſinuations of in-"chaſtity in it. — Her greateſt guilt was, "the King's better fancying of another, "which made him, the next day after her "death, to mourn ſo paſſionately for her, in "the embraces of a new bride." [1] *Hume* ſays, "Her innocence cannot reaſonably be "called in queſtion. — The whole tenour "of her conduct forbids us to aſcribe to her "an abandoned character, ſuch as is im-"plied in the King's accuſation, and had "ſhe been ſo loſt to all prudence, and ſenſe "of ſhame, ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf "to detection, and afforded her enemies "the cleareſt evidence againſt her." [2] Lord *Herbert* adds, "thus ended this queen la-"mented by many, both as ſhe was de-"ſirous to advance learned men, and as ſhe "was a great alms-giver." [3] And to this purpoſe do *our hiſtorians in general* agree in their repreſentations of this unfortunate queen's hard fate. [4]

1 *Fuller's* church hiſtory, B. 5. p. 207, 208.

2 *Hume's* Tudors, v. 1. Qº. p. 202 --- 209. and p. 248.

3 Lord *Herbert*, p. 446 --- 450.

4 *Heylin* Ref. hiſtory of *Elizabeth*, p. 91 --- 95. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 133. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 116 --- 118. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 196 ----- 207. and v. 3. p. 118 --- 129. *Echard*, v. 1. p. 685. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 810 ---- 812. *Speed*, p. 1030 --- 1032.

From

From an impartial review of the relation which theſe ſeveral hiſtorians give of the fall of *Anne Bullen*, there does not appear any real foundation for the grievous crimes with which ſhe was charged. The utmoſt that can fairly be alledged againſt her, is, that through the gaiety and openneſs of a youthful levity, owing in a great meaſure to a *French* education, ſhe "either took "or permitted liberties, which gave offence "to an impetuous huſband, who had pride "enough to make him the moſt jealous of "mortals, and the moſt furious in his jea-"louſy. And her enemies taking notice "of every little indiſcretion of hers, im-"proved it to raiſe in the King ſuſpicions "of her virtue." The greateſt proof of which was, that in the preſence of many, her brother preſumed to whiſper ſomething in her ear, when ſhe was in bed, which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the King and her. And this was all the proof that could be procured of this innocent queen's inceſt and adultery. It is no wonder, if ſo ſudden and unexpected a fall, when a crime of ſuch horrid guilt was objected againſt her, brought on, with great violence, thoſe hyſterical diſorders ſo common to her ſex: and yet, when in the moſt deſponding ſtate, and when moſt oppreſſed

[1] *Carte*, v. 3. p. 133.

with

with these vapours, (though she sometimes confessed some unguarded expressions, which discovered more sprightliness than discretion, but nothing of a criminal tendency) she constantly, and upon all occasions, persevered to vindicate her innocence, and her virtue.

Gratiani says, that the Queen's brother, and the other prisoners upon her account, were tortured into a confession of her crimes[1]. But this, and many other circumstances mentioned by him, are mere fictions invented to dress up a romantic narration. *Norris*, one of these unhappy sufferers, nobly rejected the offers of life and pardon, upon the ignominious terms of accusing her; which he refused to do, as believing her in his conscience to be innocent. And though something is said to have been confessed, in hopes of pardon, by *Smeton*, to the prejudice of the queen's honour and chastity, which some of our historians have too hastily caught, and as hastily reported; yet, if we may credit *Cromwell's* letter to the King from the *Tower*, when he and some of the council were sent thoroughly to sift and examine the prisoners: "many "things, (says he in that letter) have been

1. *Comprehensi statim Georgius Annæ frater, reliquique, & pro magnitudine flagitii acriter torti, de se quisque est confessus, & continuo omnes merito supplicio sunt traditi.* *Gratianus de cas. Vir. ill.* p. 269.

"ob-

"objected, but nothing confeſſed, only ſome "circumſtances have been acknowledged "by *Mark*."[1] But what theſe circumſtances were, we are ſtill to learn; for *Smeton* was never confronted with her, or any uſe made of his evidence at her trial; and he (as well as the reſt) loſt his life, to procure ſome credit to the defamation.

The crowd, ſays Mr. *Phillips*, *that thronged* P. 124.
to the place of execution, gazed with uncon-
cern— and ſo ſays *Gratiani* too. But if this be true, then Sir *William Kingſton*, the lieutenant of the *Tower*, who attended the execution, muſt be miſtaken: for he ſays in a letter to *Cromwell*, giving an account of the Queen's behaviour at her execution, "that there were not above thirty ſtran-"gers, and not many others." And this was Sir *William's* advice, who thought that a reaſonable number was beſt, as he found, ſhe would declare herſelf to be a good woman, for all men, but for the King at the hour of death.[2] Mr. *Strype*, from ſome original letters of Sir *William Kingſton*, "has been enabled to repreſent matters con-"cerning this queen in her afflictions more "largely, exactly and diſtinctly," than moſt other writers; and to whom we refer, that

1 *Heylin* Ref. hiſt. of *Eliz.* p. 92.
2 Ibid. p. 93. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 204. *Strype's* mem. v. 1. p. 280. *Herbert*, p. 449.

we

we ſwell not this article to any unneceſſary length, by dwelling farther upon it.

The biſhop of *Meaux*, whoſe leaſt fault it is to miſrepreſent his authorities, has, in recording this event, exhibited a genuine picture of catholic bigotry. He ſays, "the "unfortunate *Anne Bullen*, hoped to ſoften "the King, by confeſſing every thing he "would have her, but this confeſſion ſaved "her only from being burnt;" referring his reader to biſhop *Burnet* for his voucher, as if it was taken from him, and his words uſed. Whereas *Burnet's* own words are theſe, that the Queen, "had either ſome hopes of "life given her, or was wrought upon by the "aſſurances of mitigating that cruel part of "her judgment, of being burnt, into the "milder part of the ſentence, of having her "head cut off; ſo that ſhe confeſſed," (not every thing the King would have her, for ſhe never would acknowledge any guilt, but only,) "a pre-contract." *Boſſuet* goes on: "ſhe comforted herſelf upon the day of "execution, when ſhe heard the executioner was an expert one, but I, addeth "ſhe, have got a very little neck. At the "ſame time, ſays the witneſs of her death, "ſhe put her hands round it, and laughed

1 *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. p. 280 ---- 284.
2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1 p. 203.

"very

"very heartily." Upon which this *French* bishop makes this candid and christian remark, "now whether, says he, this was "done through the ostentation of an af-"fected intrepidity, or that her head was "turned at the approaches of death; how-"ever this be, it seems, as if God would "have it, that dreadful as the end of this "Princess was, it should have a mixture in "it of the ridiculous, as well as of the tra-"gic." [1] The place referred to is a passage in Sir *William Kingston's* letter to *Cromwell*, which *Burnet* has inserted in his history. [2] The bishop of *Meaux*, like a true controversialist, stoppeth short in the middle of the letter, to give vent to his presumptuous judgment, and wilfully to keep his readers in ignorance of what immediately follows. For thus does Sir *William* go on, "I have "seen many men, and also women exe-"cuted; and that they have been in great "sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady "has much joy and pleasure in death." But why did the bishop stop so soon, and not add this? for obvious reasons enough: that none of his persuasion might have any favourable opinion of her innocency, or her piety. To prevent this, he

1 *Bossuet Histoire des variations des Eglises protestants*, v. 1. p. 298.

2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 204.

artfully diverts them; and by a grave reflection, looking upon laughter as vain, and inconſiſtent with her condition, he will not let her aſhes reſt in peace, without adding ſcorn to cruelty; not aware, that injured innocence, at the concluſion of afflictions, may well be chearful. How elſe will he defend Sir *Thomas More's* behaviour; whoſe facetiouſneſs attended him to the ſcaffold, where he joked upon the loyalty of his beard.

P. 123. Mr. *Phillips* to reproach this Queen, informeth us, *ſhe had imbibed the doctrine of Calvin*. If ſo, it muſt be either by intuition or inſpiration: for that reformer was, at the time of her execution, a very young man, and hardly known. But ſhe ſoon left him, it ſeems, for the more comfortable

P. 124. doctrine of *Luther*,[1] who *licenſed polygamy*.[2] But *Anne* did not want his licence:

1 *Anne Bullen* was born in 1507. *John Calvin* in 1509. the firſt ſyſtematical book he publiſhed in divinity was his *Inſtitutions*, which were firſt printed, either in 1534, or 1535: ſo that ſhe could not well have been his diſciple, and left him for the more *commodious* doctrine of *Luther*. If Mr. *Phillips* meant any reflection, he might better have ſaid, ſhe was firſt a diſciple of *Zuinglius*, and deſerted him for *Luther*, as they were cotemporary reformers.

2 This is that triumphant objection, ſo often urged by the enemies of *Luther*, *his licenſing polygamy in favour of the Landgrave of Heſſe*. But it is an objection, not ſo much againſt the doctrine of the reformation, as againſt the private opinion of *Luther*, in a caſe of conſcience

for he, to whom *the lawgiver of Chriſtianity* P. 116 had *committed* his authority, had by private advice propoſed the ſame for the King, to his agent *Caſſali*, as before mentioned.[1] In the charge of inceſt imputed to the Queen, our author's conſcience hath recoiled a little, not at repeating the baſe calumny, but, for *not wording it more correctly*. But when he was in ſo good a mood, he might as well have made the ſame apology for the biſhop of *Amelia*, for the ſentence is tranſlated from him:[2] and

Errat. before 2d part, p.

ſcience put to him. It is an intricate affair, and would ſwell this note to too great a length, to attempt to ſtate it clearly. *Varillas*, and ſome other writers of his ſide, but eſpecially *Boſſuet* (in his *Hiſtoire des Variations*, *&c.* V. 1. B. 6. p. 220, *&c.* and the records at the end of it, p. 251, *&c.*) have arraigned it with the ſevereſt cenſures. In reply to theſe, *Seckendorf* hath related a minute, and ample hiſtory of this whole affair, and alſo what *Luther's* cool reflections were upon it; enough to ſhew, that there was ſomething extremely ſingular in the caſe. *Hiſt. Luth.* L. 3. p. 277, *&c.* *Thuanus* has thrown ſome light upon this extraordinary matter, by relating a memorable circumſtance, that when the Landgrave was dead, *inſpecto a medicis corpore, Triorches repertus. Thuan.* L. 41. *A.D.* 1567. We do not think ourſelves obliged to juſtify *Luther* in this matter. He had his reaſons no doubt: and if they are not ſufficient to excuſe him, *his behaviour, in this particular, --- muſt be placed amongſt thoſe weakneſſes which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great allevation.* P. 151.

1 See p. 71, 72, 79, and the note p. 79, 80.

2 The biſhop of *Amelia's* expreſſions are full as exceptionable as Mr. *Phillips's*. *Frater (Annæ ſc.) Georgius validus juvenis --- hunc rata, (Anna ſc.) gignendæ*

if the biſhop did not ſcruple to ſpeak out, the prieſt needed not to have been ſo ſqueamiſh, when without remorſe he could ſpeak evil of his neighbour, and tranſgreſs the firſt great law of chriſtianity.

P. 124. *Henry's* love letters to *Anne Bullen, which are ſtill preſerved in the Vatican library*, make another charge againſt her. But as theſe letters have been printed in *England*, we need not be ſent quite ſo far as *Rome*, for a ſight of theſe curious remains of *Henry's* love.[1] *Burnet*, who ſaw, and got them copied, has given a juſt deſcription of them.[2] That there are ſome coarſe and rather indecent expreſſions in them, cannot be denied: but the times were unpolite; and *Henry* had not much delicacy in his conſtitution: yet they fully ſhew, that the King went all along upon honourable motives; and in ſome of them, there appears a regard to decency and religion. — But had they been ever ſo bad, or as bad as Mr. *Phil-*

ſoboli accommodatum: and he had juſt before ſaid, the Queen thought *Henry, parum gignendis maribus aptum.* P. 268.

1 There are ſeventeen of theſe in all; and publiſhed, I ſuppoſe from biſhop *Burnet's* copy, in the year 1714, with this title, Love-Letters from King *Henry* the 8th to *Anne Boleyn*. Some of them are inſerted by Mr. *Grove* in his life of cardinal *Wolſey*, towards the end of the 4th volume. There is likewiſe a manuſcript copy of them in the *Bodleian* library.

2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 3. p. 41.

lips

lips would make them, what is this to *Anne Bullen?* could she help the roughness, or the wantonness, of her admirer? She is not to answer for his offences: it would make against her indeed, if any of her letters could be produced, encouraging *an impure flame.* She seemeth to have behaved with a proper reserved modesty; and the King, in one of his letters, complaineth, "that "though he had been above a whole year "struck with the dart of love, yet, says he, "I am not sure whether I shall fail or find a "place in your heart or affection.'" What can Mr. *Phillips* blame here? not the lady's conduct certainly. Why then did he, for want of better matter, enviously load her with the slips of her lover's unpoliteness, by insinuating, that her *qualities were unfit* P. 124. *to raise a purer flame?* But every thing that could tend to lessen her good name, must industriously be collected. So she can any way be maligned, our author has his end.

Some of our writers have admired the pathetick eloquence of the letter the Queen wrote to the King, when she was a prisoner in the *Tower.* Mr. *Phillips* grudges her P. 125. even this little praise, and tries to deprive note. her of it. Lord *Herbert,* it is true, does not aver it to be genuine; but yet says,

1 Letter the 4th, p. 9.

what

what is here omitted, "that it came to his "hand, from more than one good part."[1] As it was found among *Cromwell's* papers, this is no ſmall preſumption it was truly hers. The letter itſelf ſpeaks ſo ſtrongly the natural language of an heart ſurrounded with diſtreſſes, feeling their poignancy, but triumphing over them, with ſuch a conſcious ſpirit of truth, and duty to the King, that it could hardly be counterfeited by any, who did not actually feel the acute and delicate ſenſations, of love, diſappointment, and calamity. If the King himſelf could be any judge, where the heart of the Queen was affected, her language and ſentiments were animated: for *Henry*, in one of his letters, compliments his miſtreſs, "upon "the fine thoughts of her letter ſo cordially "expreſſed."[2]

Mr. *Phillips*, not ſatisfied with her conviction and execution, would perſuade us, ſhe died with a lie in her mouth. How ſo? did ſhe confeſs any guilt? No, not that. She had ſo *little regard to veracity*, as to declare *on the ſcaffold, that there never was a gentler and more merciful Prince* than *Henry*. Shall this be objected againſt her? Does Mr. *Phillips's* religion teach him, that forgiveneſs of injuries is inconſiſtent with

P. 125. note.

1 *Herbert*, p. 446.
2 Letter 5. p. 12.

ſuffer-

ſuffering innocency? The Queen had ſaid enough at her trial to clear herſelf; and tho' ſhe now experienced *the King's cruel and unrelenting temper*, yet how amiable did her virtue, or rather her chriſtianity appear, in ſo totally ſubduing that indignation, which, if liſtened to, would only have diſturbed the ſerenity of her end. She ſhewed how much ſhe had profited by afflictions; and exerted the higheſt inſtance of that goſpel ſpirit of love (which Mr. *Phillips*, by finding fault with, ſeems to have no notion of) by praying for him, whoſe fury and whoſe jealouſy was the ſole cauſe of her death.

Thus have I endeavoured to do ſome little juſtice to this greatly injured Queen's memory. We have conſulted, with others, the hiſtorians Mr. *Phillips* has cited; and which, if he had inſpected himſelf, he muſt know, that though they ingenuouſly relate the motives of the King's ſuſpicions, and all that can be ſaid againſt her; yet do they give as ſtrong conviction of her hard and cruel fate, as facts can ſpeak, or words expreſs. To aggravate the one, and entirely to omit the other, is ſuch a flagrant proof of partiality and prejudice, of barbarity and injuſtice, as cannot but excite the deteſtation and contempt of every friend to candour and to truth. But when they tell us, *her fate was conſidered not merely as a puniſhment*, P. 124

niſhment, but as a divine judgment; we ſhall content ourſelves with this reply to ſuch preſumptuous (if not profane) interpreters of the providence of God, by anſwering them in their own way, that we cannot help thinking, that the divine goodneſs recompenſed the unjuſt calamities of the mother, by the long, the proſperous, and the glorious reign of her daughter *Elizabeth*.

The tender and candid manner in which our hiſtorians have ſpoken of the equally virtuous and unfortunate *Catherine*, may ſhame others in their rancorous ſpleen againſt her ſucceſſor in the King's affections. They both of them felt the indignation of a violent and impetuous huſband; and tho' of different natural diſpoſitions, the one rigid and auſtere, the other gay and ſprightly; yet were they both made the victims of their huſband's real or pretended ſcruples, and that, not through any immediate crime or fault of their own, but by being unhappily connected with an arbitrary and jealous Prince, whoſe will was too often his ſubjects law.

After this long digreſſion concerning *Pole's* work on *the church unity*, and thoſe *Engliſh* matters we have been conſidering, we are called again to return to the more immediate ſubject of the hiſtory before us. In obedience to the commands of the Pope, *Pole* was now arrived at *Rome*, and lodged in

in his Holineſs's palace. Our biographer, from his informant *Quirini*,[1] relates the occaſion of his particular call to that place; which was, with ſome other commiſſioners, *to effect a reform of manners*. *A plan* P. 139. *of reformation* was accordingly drawn up. P. 140. But all theſe good endeavours of *Pole*, and his aſſociates, were at once rendered ineffectual: his Holineſs himſelf put his negative upon them. *The temper of the times*, it is ſaid, *ſeemed ill ſuited to the change* P. 139. *which was projected:* and no uſe at all was made of the plan. It anſwered the Pope's end indeed: the very plea of a council of reformation, would ſerve to amuſe the *Germans*; and ſtave off, that dreaded evil to the court of *Rome*, the calling of a general council.

But had theſe commiſſioners proceeded in the execution of their plan, it would have ſignified but little: for they would not acknowledge any thing to be faulty in doctrine; only were willing to reform ſomething in diſcipline, and in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical matters and perſons.[2] So that no good could have accrued to the chriſtian ſtate, from the *purſuit* of a *plan*

1 *Quirini*, v. 1, cap. *ult.* p. 366 ---- 371.

2 *Sleidan*, B. 12. p. 233, &c. and *Herbert*, p. 490. who ſays the ſame, and whoſe authority is imperfectly cited by Mr. *Phillips*.

only

only calculated to *reform* a ſmall part of the evils complained of: for the corruptions of Faith and doctrine were as flagrant and notorious, as thoſe of morals and diſcipline.

To comfort *Pole*, and his partners in this work, that their labours might not be thrown away; amongſt others, whom he rewarded in the ſame way, the Pope thought
P. 141. fit to promote *Reginald to the purple*. A ſtep which exaſperated his ſovereign beyond meaſure, offended his friends in *England*,[1] and proved the ruin of his family. All this he foreſaw plainly: but the Emperor and the Pope, for political reaſons, would not allow him to refuſe this dignity; but forced it upon him, with a view to prevent any proſpect of a reconciliation between him and his friends in *England*.

1 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 298, 299.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE THIRD.

POLE being now a member, in Mr. *P's* language, of the *ſenate of the univerſal church*, which *has been conſidered as the common council of the chriſtian world*; his biographer has kindly entertained his countrymen, with a pompous account of the *origin and inſtitution* of the cardinalate, in hopes of *removing thoſe prejudices, which the cauſeleſs ſpleen of a mere Engliſh reader is apt to conceive at the very name of cardinal.* We are greatly obliged to Mr. *P.* for this extraordinary condeſcenſion: though it be rather too late to tell us, by way of information, that this order of *the purple* was founded to ſupport the pride and pomp of the court of *Rome*. In former days, the chief prieſts of larger pariſhes were diſtinguiſhed by this appellation, though with a different meaning. They were then looked upon as inferior to prelates: and the title

P. 147. P. 148. P. 149.

title was dropped, when the mitre was aſſumed. In later days, when the temporal power of the See of *Rome* was enlarged, an additional degree of honour and dignity was annexed to the council of the Pope: and the *archi-preſbyteri* of the primitive biſhops, were intended to be revived by the inſtitution of the *cardinales preſbyteri*, tho' with much higher powers: for the latter were ſoon conſidered as aſſeſſors to his Holineſs at *Rome*; who afterwards, by beſtowing this title upon biſhops and other great men, whilſt he augmented his own authority, by ſuch powerful aſſociates, he gratified their ambition by the gaudy decorations of privilege and precedence.

By the weight of their influence, it eaſily overſhadowed the epiſcopal dignity: the *jus divinum* of which was forced to ſubmit
P. 148. to the *jus humanum* of the cardinal; who, *holding the higheſt rank in the catholic church*, was conſidered as a being of a ſuperiour nature. So much leſs honour was paid to that order, which Chriſt himſelf, or his apoſtles, were ſuppoſed to have inſtituted,
P. 147. than to that which his *vicegerent*, through *the expediency of a change in ſome points of primitive diſcipline*, eſtabliſhed *for the diſpatch of a multiplicity of* temporal *affairs*. By one degree of art and another, this powerful body became alone concerned in the election of the biſhop of *the capital of the chriſtian*

chriſtian world, and thereby of *giving a ſu-* P. 145.
preme head to the church. The preſent number of *this ſacred college* was fixed by *Sixtus* the 5th, for this wiſe reaſon, that as he repreſented Jeſus Chriſt, they (the cardinals) ſhould repreſent his diſciples. As they have had amongſt their liſt *the bro-* P. 148.
thers and ſons of the greateſt potentates; — as *they have frequently guided the councils of different ſtates*, and been concerned *in important negotiations:* we are not to wonder, if the worldly wiſdom and rapacity of the politician, hath ſometimes got the better of the ſelf-denying humility of the eccleſiaſtic; which occaſioned a wicked wag humouroufly to define a cardinal, to be *animal rubrum, callidum, & rapax; capax & vorax omnium beneficiorum.*[1] Thus can we heretics divert ourſelves; and, *turning our* P. 149.
minds from ſounds to things, be much better pleaſed to hear of *the flowing eaſe and ſhape,* P. 148.
and ſcarlet colour of the robes, at a diſtance; than to ſee them parade in triumph amongſt us, and baſk as formerly, in the enjoyment of a glorious plurality of biſhoprics and benefices.[2]

1 *Guy Patin*, v. *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 564.

2 See more about cardinals, in *Farneworth's Prolegomena* to the life of Pope *Sixtus* 5. N°. 5. p. IV. *Bingham's* antiquities, B. 2. c. 19. ſect. 18. p. 82. and the hiſtory of the cardinals, Part 1. Book third, throughout.

Paul

Paul the 3d conferring this honour of the red hat upon *Pole*, his biographer, willing to return the obligation, thinks himself equally bound with *Quirini*,[1] ' to vindi-
P. 151. cate alſo the patron of his hero. *It has been objected*, he ſaith, againſt *Paul*, *that he conferred the purple on ſome of his own family, at an age which ſeems immature for that dignity: but if the care he took* of their education, and his hopes of them, *be taken into the account, his behaviour, in this particular, will either not appear unbecoming the other parts of his conduct, or muſt be placed amongſt thoſe weakneſſes which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation.* In ſo tender a manner, does this good and charitable Mr. *P.* who does not ſpare his crueleſt reproaches

1 Cardinal *Quirini*, fond of taking every opportunity of extolling *Paul* the 3d, for the worthies whom he honoured with the purple, is for ever enlarging upon his Holineſs's praiſes. But in one place his boldneſs is conſummate, and exceeds every thing, when he aſcribes the Pope's choice of cardinals, and their acceptance of that dignity, to the influence of the Holy Ghoſt: for ſpeaking of *Pole's* letters to *Contareni*, he ſays, *ex iis conſtare annotavimus, Paulum* III. *Pontif. max. Spiritu ſancto duce ad evehendos cardinales procedere conſueviſſe, præterea cardinales delatam ſibi dignitatem non niſi ejuſdem ſpiritus impulſu accepiſſe.*

V. 2. *Diat.* ſect. 1. p. LV. See alſo, v. 1. *Præf. Ep. Schelhorn cum anim.* p. LXXVII. & *Diat.* p. 376. And again (beſides the whole firſt ſection of the ſecond volume) v. 3. *Præf.* p. 40.

upon

upon the leaſt ſlip of any of the reformed party, palliate the avowed wickedneſs of a wanton debauchee. The two young cardinals, here hinted at, were his own grandſons, by two of his baſtards; one of whom at 14, the other at 16 years of age, he admitted into the *ſacred college: and ſhewed* (by this action) *a caution and ſagacity in the choice he made of thoſe, who were to compoſe the ſupreme council of the church, worthy the chief magiſtracy be bore in it.* P. 151. *So ſenſible* was his Holineſs, that *the ſacred college ſhould be compoſed of perſons whoſe examples might recall the ancient ſplendour of the prieſthood.* P. 141. This was the method the ſupreme head of the church took, to acquaint the world with his earneſt reſolution to purſue that plan of reformation, which he himſelf had publickly given out ſhould be effected, and *which was loudly called for on all ſides.* P. 150. Well therefore might father *Paul* ſay, ſpeaking of the creation of theſe young cardinals, "the hope of re-"forming the cardinals, and the fear of "ſome of them vaniſhed immediately, be-"cauſe it did not appear how it could be-"gin, but from the age, and lawful birth "of thoſe who were to be created cardi-"nals" [1]

1 Council of *Trent*, B. 1. p. 73.

Whilſt

Whilſt cardinal *Pole* is engaged in receiving the compliments of his friends upon his new dignity, Mr. *P.* ſteps aſide to favour us with his character of two extraordinary perſons, friends of the new made cardinal, *Hoſius* and *Eraſmus*. The former, tho' a cardinal, and a legate afterwards at the council of *Trent*, is now but little known: though I remember to have read ſomewhere, of his performing ſomething like a miracle to confound hereſy. It ſeems an acquaintance of his, who had been dipping in ſome heretical books, fell ill of a violent fever. *Hoſius*, who looked upon it as a judgment for his preſumption, made him ſenſible, that ſuch wicked indulgence was the cauſe of his illneſs; and with great zeal threw the book into the fire, in order to cure his friend. No ſooner was this preſcription tried, than it ſucceeded. Whilſt the book was burning, the fever abated. When the operation was over, the patient found himſelf quite well: his fever and his hereſy, to the great triumph of *Hoſius's* faith, left him at the ſame time. Such an extraordinary exertion of faith and power, could not but pave the way for the honours he afterwards obtained. As his writings were all of them upon controverſial ſubjects, the good *catholics* might well *ſtyle him a pillar of the church:* but that, *thoſe* P. 156. *of a different perſuaſion* ſhould *honour him with*

with encomiums ſtill more pompous may reaſonably be queſtioned; ſeeing we find him reckoned, by ſome of the writers of thoſe times, amongſt the loweſt and baſeſt ſlanderers of *Luther's* memory.[1]. And the ſubjects he wrote upon, were not of that kind, as would leave any favourable impreſſion of his candour or moderation, though his abilities might be readily acknowledged.[2]

From the heightening repreſentation Mr. *P.* hath made of the character of *Hoſius*, he is willing, we ſhould ſee, he can excell in ſatire, as well as panegyric. He proceeds therefore *to that celebrated name, Eraſmus*; whoſe character is introduced here, with no other deſign, but to expreſs the utmoſt malevolence againſt his memory, by indulging himſelf in all the petulant cenſures of the loweſt bigots of his communion. P. 155.

Mr. *P*, who thinks it no ſin to calumniate, begins his account of *Eraſmus*, by abuſing his country. He was *born*, he ſays, *in a climate as little framed for ripening minds as improving morals*. National reflections are, for the moſt part, falſe; but are ever baſe, and what a true ſcholar would P. 157.

1 *Jewell's* reply to *Harding*, p. 2. who frequently nameth him, and ever ranks him with *Eccius*, *Pighius*, and ſuch ſort. *Humfredi vita Juelli*, p. 262. and *Charke's* anſwer to *Parſons*, p. 240.

2. *Dupin* eccleſ. hiſt. 16 century, 2d pt. B. 5. p. 114.

diſdain to make. At the time of the reformation, the ſharpneſs of a true perſecuting ſpirit was firſt felt in the low-countries; two monks being burnt there for *Lutheraniſm*, ſo early as 1523: where for ſome years the ſame rational method of conviction was frequently tried, and with the ſame effect.[1] Neither were the heroes, who ſtruggled with ſuch reſolution and fortitude for the civil liberties of this oppreſſed country, more memorable, than thoſe extraordinary perſons, who, by their uncommon abilities, furniſhed ſuch ſuccours to *Europe* for the advancement of literature, and made *Holland* the *Aſylum* of letters.[2] The celebrated names of *Scaliger*, *Salmaſius*, *Grotius* and many others, before, and ſince their time, would reflect honour upon any country; and abundantly refute this idle, impotent attempt to defame it, as *be-*

1 *G. Brandt's* hiſt. of the Ref. in the low countries. B. 1. from *A. D.* 1523 to 1534: and his account of *Gnapheus's* perſecutions. The ſtrongeſt proof of whoſe heterodoxy, and what raiſed a ſtorm againſt him, was, a pregnant woman, who had a longing, put a ſauſage, in *Lent* time, into the pot wherein he uſed to boil his peas. "That affair took up the judges during two "days: the phyſicians were ſent for, and aſked whether "it was poſſible, that a woman with child ſhould long "for meat in *Lent?* after having debated that queſtion, "the judges paſſed ſentence, that *Gnapheus*, ſhould be "apprehended dead or alive, where ever he ſhould be "found." *Brandt's* hiſt. *&c.* abridged, v. 1. p. 28.

2 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 15, 16.

lumi-

ing a climate as little framed for ripening minds, as improving morals.

Our author does indeed acknowledge the erudition and abilities of *Eraſmus:* and *the view of him, as a ſcholar,* is declared to be *luminous.* But ſurely, if his excellency in this reſpect be admitted, why could not that ſame diſcernment and underſtanding, which enabled him to make ſuch real improvements in literary knowledge, enable him alſo to make ſome advances in theological learning; for the ſame defects were obſervable in each, and that ignorance and ſtupidity *which diſgraced the ſchools,* diſgraced the church alſo? *Eraſmus* ſaw and lamented this; and did his beſt to reform them both. It was this commendable undertaking, which firſt raiſed the fury of the bigots of his own times: and the ſhameful clamour is ſtill continued. But how comes the *view of his character, as a Chriſtian,* in our author's phraſe, not to be equally *luminous*? We are told, *there was ſcarce any error advanced againſt the religion he profeſſed,* nay *almoſt, againſt chriſtianity itſelf, which he has not revived.* P. 158. P. 159.

It was *Eraſmus's* hard fate to be wilfully miſunderſtood in his life time: and it hath been his hard fate ſince, to have theſe miſrepreſentations repeated, and with equal effrontery; and the calumny not drawn from any intimate converſe with his writings

tings, but derived from a ſecondary degree of knowledge, from the aſperſions of prejudiced enemies. A bitter charge is here brought againſt a man, to whom Religion and Learning is greatly indebted: and how is it ſupported? by no other proofs, than bold, preſumptuous affirmations. That *Eraſmus*, from ſome ſet of men, ſhould meet with bad treatment, is not aſtoniſhing. He, whoſe belief is confined to narrow ſyſtems, and, what he is pleaſed to term, the *conſent of the church*, cannot but look with an evil eye, upon every attempt to call men
P. 161. *from ſounds to things, as diſſenting from the ſpirit of the catholic church, and betraying a mind totally warped from her rule of rectitude.* Sounding words fortunately prove nothing. As the ſtandard of orthodoxy is not the ſame in all communions, we have a right to expect ſomewhat leſs arrogance, and more reaſoning, and clear evidence, when a good man's reputation is at ſtake, and *prophaneſs* and *impiety* are boldly, and in the ſtrongeſt manner, objected againſt him.

The writers of the life of the precious founder of the order of the jeſuits, have recorded, that that ſpiritual *Quixot* could not reliſh the works of *Eraſmus*. He found in that elegant book of the *Enchiridion militis Chriſtiani*, none of the *unction* ſo reliſhing in ſome books of devotion, and ſo neceſ-

ſary

ſary to keep up the heat of the true enthuſiaſt. "A judgment this, ſays *Dr. Jortin*, worthy of him; and every fanatic, like him, would want ſomething more pathetic and ſavoury, ſomething with more *unction*, and leſs morality and common ſenſe."[1] Whether Mr. *P.* belongs to that ſociety or no, ſignifies nothing: we apprehend however, he knows as little of *Eraſmus*, and is as much a ſtranger to his writings, as if he, as well as *Loyola's* diſciples, had been forbid to read them; for he has accuſed him of maintaining ſome principles, which the general tenor of his writings do evidently contradict.

The great object that *Eraſmus* ſeems to have in view in his religious treatiſes, is, by manly and ſenſible argumentation, to inculcate the true nature and end of devotion; and to demonſtrate, that it does not ſo much conſiſt, in a form of words, in ridiculous ceremonies, or a round of external duties, as in the inward affection and diſpoſition of the heart. Though this was fixing religion upon its true baſis, it is inconceivable, how greatly it exaſperated the zealots of the church of *Rome*. By expoſing the folly of their artificial incitements to devotion, they were ſenſible, that his writings, if attended to, would rob them

1 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 22.

of

of their profit, and hurt their influence.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ!

By this craft they had their gain: and it was natural for them, to raiſe an outcry againſt the bold diſturber of their eaſe and power. A man of ſuperiour endowments, could not but abhor the ſuperſtitious fooleries, that had crept in by degrees into the religious offices of the church; where genuine devotion was loſt in ſhew and fop-
P. 159. pery, and the *divine plan of belief and practice* was almoſt totally obliterated, by a rigorous and ſervile attention to the externals of bodily worſhip.

Seeing this lamentable decay of true piety, *Eraſmus*, who had a keen pen, could not help laſhing the ignorance, and the vices of the eccleſiaſtics: and he hoped, that what was wanting in authority, would be compenſated by the weight of his arguments; and that to laugh at a fool, or a blockhead, would, if not reform him, at leaſt inform others. Chriſtianity therefore, as well as learning, owes a great deal to his memory, for his noble endeavours to draw men, from reſting in the circumſtantials, to attend to the fundamentals of religion. In this light he appears to great advantage, the foe to cant and hypocriſy, the friend to manly and rational piety. But great juſtice having lately been done to the memory

memory and character of *Eraſmus*, in an impartial and admirable performance, we refer the reader to Dr. *Jortin's* life of this *extraordinary perſonage*, as deeming it, rather *a more correct criterion to judge* of his merits, than Mr. *P's* motly deſcription; as it is drawn from a maſterly knowledge of the hiſtory of that age, and the writings of *Eraſmus* himſelf. P. 158. P. 159.

We have reaſon to think, that Mr. *P.* is almoſt as much a ſtranger to the works of *Eraſmus*, as we have ſhewed him to be to thoſe of *Luther*. This will appear, by examining the ſeveral particulars of his opprobrious accuſations againſt him.[1] His firſt charge is, *the outrageous flights of impiety, — againſt the devotion paid to the mother of our redeemer.* His references, in ſupport of this aſſertion, are the dialogue P. 159.

1 In that epiſtle of *Eraſmus* to *Luther*, which our author, by referring to, whilſt he is drawing *Eraſmus's* picture, would make us believe, he hath read, there is ſomething ſaid, which if one, of whoſe worth and abilities, Mr. *P.* hath the higheſt opinion, had properly attended to, he might have profited by. In that letter, *Eraſmus* tells *Luther*, what good advice he had given the gentry of *Louvain*, that reformer's teizing adverſaries, *Tantum admonui* (ſays he,) ne libris tuis nondum lectis, *ad populum tam odioſe vociferarentur* . . . . . But this kindneſs was thrown away, for he adds, *nihil profectum eſt: huc uſque inſaniunt obliquis imo famoſis ſuis diſputationibus.* *Eraſmus*, as well as *Luther*, has ſuffered plentifully by the retailing collectors of party prejudice.

Pere-

Peregrin. Rel. ergò, and *a note in his commentary on the firſt chapter of St. Luke's goſpel.* In this dialogue, *Eraſmus* with a ſeverity, and *ſneer*, which true piety will juſtify, laugheth at the abominable folly and ſuperſtition of thoſe abſurd enthuſiaſts, who tramped from one country to another, to perform imaginary devotions to imaginary ſaints, in places ſanctified by fraud and knavery to the purpoſes of religious deluſion. To give a keener edge to his ſatire, he hath recourſe to a pious trick often played by the monks; pleaſantly feigning a letter ſuppoſed to be written by a famous ſtone image of the Virgin *Mary* in the neighbourhood of *Baſil*, and gravely told by a zealous pilgrim, relating his rambles to different temples, in diſtant kingdoms, conſecrated to her honour, and to that of other ſaints. With an indignation becoming one, who had the intereſt of truth and religion ſeriouſly at heart, he expoſed the abſurdity of this ſpiritual Quixotiſm, in thus running to every place and image, reputed to be endued with a wonder-working power, to the diſgrace of religion, and the total neglect of ſocial and domeſtic duties. His general aim in this, and indeed in all the colloquies, was "to cure the bigotted world, "if he could, of that ſuperſtitious devo- "tion, which the monks inculcated more "ſedu-

"dulouſly than true chriſtian piety."[1] If Mr. *P.* will look into that part of *Eraſmus's* reply to the *Spaniſh* monks, wherein he vindicates himſelf from the imputation of leſſening the Virgin *Mary's* honour,[2] beſides what is ſaid in many paſſages of his other books, he will ſee, that that great man had a due reſpect and veneration for her; and that, what he treated with ſuch contempt, was, not the honour due to the bleſſed Virgin, but the prophane and nauſeous application made to her interceſſion.

The offenſive part of the comment upon the firſt chapter of St. *Luke's* goſpel, I take to be theſe following words, *ſacram virginem duplici nomine fuiſſe turbatam, & quod videret Juvenem ingredientem, & quod audiret ſalutationem amatoriam, & neſcio quid procorum præ ſe ferentem*, following herein chiefly, as he ſays himſelf, the comment of St. *Ambroſe*. As we are referred for this ſhameful paſſage to *Eraſmus's anſwer to Lee*; ſo do we likewiſe appeal to the ſame reply, for his defence and apology.[3] P. 150. note.

We are next told, that his *ſix reaſons againſt the cuſtom of having recourſe to her interceſſion, at the beginning of ſermons, are all of them weak, and moſt of them falſe and* P. 159.

1 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 296.

2 *Eraſmi Opp.* v. 9. *Baſil.* ed. p. 884. *De honore B. V. M.*

3 *Eraſ. Opp.* ed. *Baſ.* v. 9. p. 128 ---- 130.

all

profane: referring us, but without condeſcending to name edition, page, or book, to the *Eccleſiaſtes*. By this general reference to a large work, we ſhrewdly ſuſpect, Mr. *P.* does not ſpeak this of his own knowledge. Had he taken the pains to conſult the book itſelf, he would have found it a very difficult taſk, to make them half as many as *ſix*; and the reaſons which *Eraſmus* doth aſſign, are neither weak, nor falſe, nor profane. They occur in the ſecond book, where he ſays, this cuſtom of thus invoking of the B.V.M. is, 1. Without the authority of SS. and 2. Againſt the example of all antiquity: adding moreover, but not as different reaſons, only as illuſtrations of the former two, that ſuch a practice is often impertinently, often falſly applied; concluding in theſe words, *ſed quid opus eſt, præter SS. autoritatem, præter veterum patrum exemplum, conſuetudinem inducere quæ egeat excuſatione.*[1]

In conſequence of theſe principles, our au-
P. 159. thor tells us, that *he informs one of his acquaintance, that though he had wrote ſome things to the honour of the bleſſed Virgin, it was againſt his will.* Pretty extraordinary! if he could mean either of the treatiſes above mentioned: for this letter to *Colet* was

1 *Eccleſiaſtes*, L. 2. p. 258, 259. ed. *Baſil.* 12°. 1544.

writ-

written many years before either his *Colloquies*, or his *Eccleſiaſtes*, were publiſhed.[1] But anachroniſms are nothing with Mr. *P.*: who, if he had been converſant with *Eraſmus's* works, would have put a more candid interpretation upon his not reliſhing the *Pæan* or hymn to the Virgin *Mary*. It is not, in the letter referred to, expreſſed in the ſtrong manner repreſented by Mr. *P.* and the reaſon of his diſliking it, was not ſo much for the ſubject matter, as the ſtyle of it. It was compoſed to oblige the marchioneſs of *Vere*, and written *ſtylo juvenili, & ad illius affectum accommodato, potius quam ad meum judicium*; as he informed his friend *Botzem*, when he gave him an account of his writings, in the letter prefixed to the *Baſil* edition of his works. "It is indeed "a puerile performance, in a poetical, tu- "mid, idolatrous ſtyle."[2] This was reaſon enough, for his cool and maturer judgment to diſlike it: and though he could not but, as a chriſtian, deem the *mother of our Redeemer, bleſſed above women*; yet he could P. 159. not in his heart approve, of that unwarranted incenſe offered up to her, in de-

1 This letter to *Colet* was written in 1504.
The *Colloquies* were publiſhed in 1522.
The *Eccleſiaſtes* was publiſhed in 1535.

2 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 200. *Eraſmus's* letter to *Botzem* is alſo in this 2d vol. of Dr. *Jortin*, p. 415.

ſpight,

ſpight, as it was, of her ſon's ſole mediation.

P. 160. *The commendations beſtowed upon Luther's writings*, make another charge againſt *Eraſmus*. The letter here found fault with, is a civil and courteous one, in reply to an excellent one from *Luther*;[1] in which he ſpeaks very reſpectfully of that reformer, and his doctrine. He gives him indeed a little caution againſt too much vehemency; not that *Luther* had then ſhewn any thing of that ſpirit, or that *Eraſmus* ſuſpected it; only he was afraid, the warmth of controverſy might irritate each party to ſome exceſſes. As to *Luther* himſelf, this was but the beginning of his preaching, in 1519, when he had hitherto diſtinguiſhed himſelf, only by oppoſing the ſale and traffic of indulgences: and therefore the *encouragement of*, P. 160. note. *hæc non admoneo ut facias, ſed ut quod facis perpetuo facias*, might, without offence, be applied to *Luther*, whoſe letter to him was full of the greateſt modeſty and humility; and who, at that time, proceeded with

1 *Luther's* letter to *Eraſmus*, & *Eraſ.* ep. p. 243, and *Eraſmus's* reply, p. 244.

When Mr. *P.* talks of *Eraſmus's* praiſing *Luther* and his writings, he forgets how much he differs in that opinion from his great friend *Quirini*. For *he* ſays *Sexcenta ſunt in Eraſmi epiſtolis, aliiſque ejus lucubrationibus loca, quibus reformationem a Luthero, aliiſque ejus ſodalibus, ſeu diſcipulis procreatam irridet, atque exſecratur.* *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diat.* p. CLXXIII.

great

great fear and diffidence. He tells him, *he had peruſed his commentaries on the Pſalms, liked them much, and hoped they would prove uſeful.* Mr. *P*, willing to ſhew his learning, kindly tells his reader, with a ſneer, *what equally orthodox and edifying doctrines theſe commentaries contain.* And has he read any of this hereſiarch's writing? or is this only, as uſual, a random charge? Had *Eraſmus* found any of theſe heretical doctrines in the commentaries he praiſed, he muſt have been almoſt as ſharp-ſighted as Mr. *P. Luther*, when this letter was written, was no heretic: neither did he then, or for ſome years after, hold or teach the doctrines here aſcribed to him; and ſome of them he never was ſo abſurd to maintain. All the commentaries he had then publiſhed were two harmleſs ones, the one upon the ſeven penitential, the other upon the 110th, Pſalms.[1] And theſe commenta- P. 160. note.

1 In 1517 *Luther* had publiſhed a comment on the ſeven penitential Pſalms, in *German*, which *Seckendorf* thus characterizes, *etſi vero annis ſequentibus majori luce & ſpiritu materiam Pſalmorum horum tractavit, inſignia tamen orthodoxæ theologiæ, & eruditæ paraphraſeos documenta eum jam tum dediſſe, lectores facile deprehendent.* Of the other comment upon the 110th Pſalm, he thus ſpeaks, *in hac acerbe invehitur in Picardos ſeu Bohemos, qui ex eccleſia Romana ob vitia ſacerdotum ſeceſſerint, eoſque pro hæreticis & blaſphemis habet. Et, ad v. 4. ſacerdotium Melchizedeci æternum ad ſacramentum cœnæ applicat.*

Seckendorf Index. 3. ſcriptorum Lutheri. I am aware, that

ries contained nothing, that could offend the moſt orthodox catholic.

P. 160. But *Eraſmus preferred the marriage ſtate to celibacy, and ſet forth its privileges with ſuch indecency, that a Cynic could not have other ideas, nor cloath them in coarſer terms.* Mr. *P's* ideas of purity muſt be extremely delicate indeed, to cenſure, in ſo unfair a manner, that juvenile declamation in praiſe of matrimony, addreſſed by *Eraſmus* to his pupil Lord *Mountjoy:* and if by giving a right turn to the youthful paſſions of that nobleman, he encouraged him to enter into that ſtate which *is honourable in all men*, what ſerious man could refuſe to praiſe him for it? But it ſeems he preferred *it to celibacy*. And who ſhould not? but he did not prefer it to virginity. As he knew the flagrant lewdneſſes committed by many, who were under the vows of conſtrained celibacy, it was a commendabe act of piety to expoſe the abſurd rigour of ſuch vows; and to call men from indulging in that tur-

that there is in *Luther's* works (3d vol. *Witt.* ed.) a comment or lectures on the the firſt 22 Pſalms, with a dedication to the elector of *Saxony*, and a recommendatory epiſtle of *Melanchton* both dated the beginning of 1519. But as theſe lectures were only begun in the month of *March* that year, and continued that and the 2 following years, and were not publiſhed till 1524; it may well be doubted, whether *Eraſmus* could ſee them ſo early as in *May* 1519. See *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 94. and p. 134.

pitude

pitude of behaviour, which it was a ſhame to ſpeak of; and to admoniſh them to reſtrain thoſe deſires by the purity of a chaſte marriage, againſt thoſe deep divines and ſound caſuiſts, who held *ſimple fornication to be no ſin.* This raiſed the outcry of the zealots againſt him; and obliged him to take more notice of their pitiful objections than they deſerved, by honouring ſome of them with a reply. This defence of *Eraſmus* againſt his minute adverſaries, Mr. *P*, with his uſual partiality, entirely omitteth.[1]

Our biographer, perſevering in his abuſe on poor *Eraſmus, though a prieſt*, he ſays, *and advanced in years, he relates his gallantries in England, in a ſtyle more becoming the ſtews than the monaſtery.* We have here a freſh inſtance of Mr. *P's* ſpleen, ignorance, P. 160.

1 *Non arbitror rem eſſe periculoſam laudare matrimonium, præſertim cum a me laudatur matrimonium ſimillimum Virginitati, in quo uxor gignendæ proli, non libidini habetur. . . . . Sanctiſſimum eſt vitæ genus pure caſteque conjugium. . . . . nunc nuſquam reperias minus inquinatam morum integritatem, quam apud conjugatos . . . non de vitæ genere ſed de morum corruptela loquor.*

Eraſ. Apol. Declam. matrimonii, p. 91. & *Apol. adverſus monachos Hiſpanos*, p. 871. *Eraſ. Opp. ed. Baſil.* v. 9. Upon this ſubject we will beg leave to recommend to Mr. *P.* ſerious peruſal *Eraſmus's, Virginis & Martyris comparatio.* And he will be convinced that *Eraſmus* had noble ſentiments of true virginity, and ſuch, as even he, with all his ſpleen againſt him, cannot but admire and approve.

and

and injuſtice, in the very malevolent turn he hath given of a jocular, chearful letter wrote in 1499, to *Fauſtus Andrelinus* poet laureat to the King of *France* by *Eraſmus* who was then of *the advanced age of* 32, or according to *Poſſevin's* calculation, *only* 30.[1] He was, at that time, in *England:* and, from that flow of ſpirits, we may eaſily gueſs how much he was eſteemed and beloved by his friends here. With the higheſt good humour, and pleaſantry, he tells his correſpondent, of the ſurprizing improvements he had made, in politeneſs as a courtier, and in country amuſements as a ſportſman. He tells him likewiſe, of the agreeable and polite cuſtom of ſaluting the ladies; this, he adds with great mirth, ſhould be inducement enough for a poet to come, and partake of the pleaſures of ſuch engaging company and converſation. Where now is the ſin, or the ſhame of all this ſprightly jeſting? are the laws of modeſty and chaſtity infringed by a jocular recital of that familiarity with the ladies, which the faſhion[2] of the times

1 *Dupin hiſt. eccleſ.* 16 *cent.* 1^st^. p^t^. p. 263. Note.

2 As this letter of *Eraſmus* to *Andrelinus*, is but ſhort, it will not, I hope, be diſagreeable to give a few extracts from it. The genteel compliment paid our nation, muſt give us pleaſure; and the regard he ſhewed to the *Engliſh* ladies, ſhould be as well known, as his reſpect for the gentlemen. *Eraſmus ille, quem noſti, jam bonus propemodum venator eſt, eques non peſſimus, Aulicus non imperitus, ſalutat paulo blandius, arridet comius, & invita*

rendered both innocent and civil. Were we diſpoſed to be ſevere upon this occaſion, the prudiſh affectation of Mr. *P.* hath given us advantage enough; but we will ſpare him, and content ourſelves with obſerving, that they who can improve ſuch harmleſs expreſſions of natural, youthful gaiety, into gallantries of an impure and wicked tendency, muſt have either a very bad heart, or very filthy ideas. *Qui capit ille facit.* And after all. What is *Eraſmus's* boaſting of the ſalutes of modeſt women, to *Eneas Sylvius's* glorying *though a prieſt and advanced in years*, in the lewdeſt language, of his debaucheries, and repining at the approach of age: and yet this man, under the name of *Pius* the 2d, "was one of the "moſt reſpectable of all the *Roman* pon-

invita Minerva hæc omnia. . . . . Tu quoque ſi ſapis, huc advolabis. . . . Quanquam ſi Britanniæ dotes ſatis pernoſſes Fauſte, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: & ſi podagra tua non ſineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. . . . Sunt hic Nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, & quas tu, tuis camœnis facile anteponas. Eſt præterea mos nunquam ſatis laudatus, ſive quo venias, omnium oſculis exciperis: ſive diſcedas aliquo, oſculis dimitteris: redis reduntur ſuavia: venitur ad te propinantur ſuavia: diſceditur abs te, dividuntur baſia: occurritur alicubi, baſiatur affatim, denique quocunque te moveas, ſuaviorum plena ſunt omnia. Quæ ſi tu Fauſte guſtaſſes ſemel quam ſint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium ſolum, ut Solon fecit, ſed ad mortem uſque in Anglia peregrinari. Cætera coram jocabimur. Nam videbo te, ſpero, propediem. Vale.

Ex Anglia anno 1499. *Ep. Eraſ.* L. 5. *Fauſto Andrelino*, p. 222.

 "tiffs."

P. 160. "tiffs." [1] Mr. *Phillips*, not yet tired of abuſing *Eraſmus*, affirmeth, *that when he ſpeaks of auricular confeſſion, every aſſertion is an error.* It is well he ſays this out of the reach of the inquiſition, or that holy
P. 161. office would cenſure him *for diſſenting from the ſpirit of the catholic church . . . . and her rule of rectitude.* For ſurely the firſt book of the *Exomologeſis* is every way unexceptionable; and tho' he does, in the ſecond, conſider ſome inconveniencies that may happen, and particularly at the concluſion, makes this true and juſt reflection, which I gueſs to be the paſſage ſo offenſive to godly Mr. *P*, "that ſin by being too fre-
"quently confeſſed may come to be leſs
"frightful to us, and a penitent loſes by
"little and little his ſhamefacedneſs, which
"is the ſureſt way to preſerve his inno-
"cence:" yet does he proceed to anſwer all theſe objections, and in a way ſufficient to ſatisfy any objector, that his intention in this treatiſe was not to ſet auricular confeſſion aſide, but only to propoſe ſome rules, that both prieſt and penitent might moſt advantageouſly perform that duty. [2] It muſt

1 *Gilpin's* lives of the reformers. Poſtſcript, p. 367, 368.

2 *Dupin* eccleſ. hiſt. 16 century, pt. 1. p. 315. It was not ſo much this doctrine, as the ſcandalous abuſe of it, that *Eraſmus* ſo frequently inveighed againſt. *Totus mundus plenus eſt fabularum de flagitiis ac ſceleribus quæ ſub umbra confeſſionis admittuntur, ... ut vel ſola*

indeed be owned, that high as his opinion was of the uſefulneſs or neceſſity of it: yet he did not think *auricular confeſſion* inſtituted by Chriſt or his apoſtles, but only looked upon it as a poſitive law enjoined by the church, and upon the ſame authority as that group of human ordinances, mentioned by our writer, ſuch as *the diſ-* P. 161. *tinction of food, the obſervance of Lent, and other appointed faſts, and the ſingle life of the clergy*; all which, as being doctrines of men, he had no higher reverence for than they deſerved.

The monaſtic profeſſion, and *the monks*, he did indeed treat with the contempt they richly merited at his hands. He found them ſworn foes to true learning and piety; the peſts of ſociety; and the haters of reformation in every ſhape. When any man of learning appeared at any time, they immediately took the alarm: and whom they could not confute by argument, they endeavoured to ſilence by reproaches. *Eraſ-*

ſola commemoratio poſſet lectoris animum inficere. Verum monachi complures non amore pietatis urgent hanc confeſſionem, ſed quod hinc auferant luculentam meſſem, dum regnant in ædibus divitum, quorum ſecreta norunt, dum adſunt morientibus, dum arrodunt teſtamenta. Conſiderent lernam malorum, quæ hactenus orta eſt ex confeſſionibus, & mirari deſinent, ſi quid admonui de recte confitendo.

Eraſ. Ep. Epiſcopo cuidam cited by *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 163. See alſo his reply *ad notationes novas Lei.* v. 9. p. 214. ed. *Baſ.*

mus's whole life, was a life of altercation with theſe troubleſome hornets; who were always teizing, and inſulting him. As he knew them, and their actions well, he hath, in numberleſs places of his works, drawn their portraiture at full length. Tho' he could not but deſpiſe their ignorance and abſurdity, yet he ſometimes vouchſafed to chaſtize their inſolence: and many of his moſt formidable adverſaries are now only known, by the honour he hath done them, in recording their names, as bigots and perſecutors, as inflexible opponents to ſcience and the liberal arts. Having had his education in a convent, he ſaw the monks more attentive to the idle forms and ſtupid ceremonies of their rule, than the advancement of religion and learning.' The like deteſtation of them, and from the ſame ſources, knowledge and experience, had the reforming *Luther*; who exerted himſelf equally againſt them. He, and *Eraſmus* well knew, that monaſteries were too often the ſeminaries of vice, ignorance, and credulity: and they looked upon it, as their duty, to check the progreſs of enthuſiaſm,

1 *Eraſmi*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, L. 2. p. 345, 346. and L. 3. p. 468. edit. *Baſ.* 12°. 1544. See alſo *Ep. Paulo Voltzio*, L. 23. p. 892. and *Ep. Lamberto Grunnio*, L. 24. p. 924 where *Eraſmus* is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf under the name of *Florentius*.

which

which was ſtill founding freſh orders of the profeſſed, and ſtill increaſing the number and wealth of convents. Places, which though originally built, and endowed under the ſpecious pretences of promoting the ſpiritual ſtate, they could not but conſider, as a nuſance, and a detriment to the ſacred cauſe of chriſtianity.[1]

We are told, by Mr. *P*, that *this affinity* P. 161.
of ſentiments, in this and numberleſs other articles, produced the conſideration, which Luther, in his turn, had for Eraſmus. When *Luther* firſt oppoſed that enormous corruption of chriſtianity, the doctrine of *indulgences*, he hoped, from the turn and temper of *Eraſmus*, to be ſeconded by him. He had ſeen, and read with pleaſure, his *Enchiridion Militis Chriſtiani:* and judging from thence of their mutual agreement, he ſent him that very modeſt and reſpectful letter, before hinted at, and here referred to; in which, though *Luther* does not ſay, *he read his works with the greateſt application, and found his chief delight in them*, yet does he addreſs him in the moſt humble, cour-

1 *Voluit autem Dominus (ut nunc video) academiarum ſapientias, & monaſteriorum ſanctitates propria & certa experientia, hoc eſt multis peccatis & impietatibus mihi notas fieri, ne impiis hominibus occaſio fieret in futurum adverſarium gloriandi, quod ignota damnarem.*

Lutheri de votis monaſticis ep. dedic. ad patrem, v. 2. *Witt.* p. 269.

teous

teous, and civil manner. [1] But *Eraſmus* had not his ſpirit: and however well he wiſhed him, yet, as *Luther* was to ſtruggle by himſelf, unſupported by the authority of the great, his natural timidity and love of eaſe prevented him, firſt from joining forces with him, and afterwards obliged him to break off all communication with him and his party. And hence the bigots and the dunces, knowing this foible of *Eraſmus*, attacked him with even more ſeverity, than they did *Luther*; charging him with laying thoſe eggs, which the other's violence hatched.

p. 161. *But a Lutheran writer*, ſays Mr. *P*, *expoſed his inconſiſtences in a work addreſſed to the publick.* The impetuous *Hutten*, in the warmth of reſentment for a ſuppoſed affront or ſlight ſhewed him by *Eraſmus*, did publiſh an invective againſt him. What the title of this work was, does not clearly appear: but, becauſe *Eraſmus*, in the too

1 *Nunc quando — intellexi, per nugas illas indulgentiarum nomen meum tibi cognitum, non modo tibi viſa eſſe, ſed & accepta mea fabulamenta, cogor agnoſcere egregium tuum ſpiritum . . . Si ita ſi tibi viſum fuerit, agnoſce hunc fraterculum in Chriſto . . . pro inſcitia ſua nihil meritum, quam ut in Angulo ſepultus, communi etiam cœlo & ſoli ignotus eſſet . . . Et neſcio quo fato . . . ut cogar; multo pudore pati meas ignominias, & infœlicem inſcitiam, etiam coram doctis verſari, & jactari.*

Lutherus Eraſ. inter Eraſ. Ep. L. 6. p. 243.

great

great notice he took of it, called his reply *Spongia adverſus Aſpergines Hutteni*,[1] our learned writer refers to it under that appellation; and tells us moreover, that *Eraſmus, in his apology, appears almoſt as zealous a defender of Luther's tenets, as he who broached them*; citing at the bottom of the page, *Apolog. Senatui Argentin.* But as *Eraſmus* publiſhed no treatiſe or *apology* under that title, and tho' an *epiſtle* be ſomewhat different from an *apology*; we gueſs he means nothing more than *the letter to the ſenate of Straſburgh*, which does not ſhew him to be at all *a zealous defender of Luther's tenets*: and what *Eraſmus* ſays favourably of *Luther* in that letter, has already been conſidered. P. 161, 162.

But impiety took a ſtill bolder flight, when he endeavoured to weaken or elude all the proofs which the ſcripture furniſhes of the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. If Mr. *P.* was at all converſant in *Eraſmus's* writings, he ſurely never would have made ſo preſumptuous and falſe an aſſertion: for he holdeth the proper divinity of the ſon, in as ſtrong terms, as even the orthodox Mr. *P.* P. 162.

1 See the account of this quarrel between *Hutten* and *Eraſmus*, in the *Spongia*. *Eraſ. Op.* v. 9. p. 1340. and in *Jortin's* life of him, v. 1. p. 305, and 316. and v. 2. p. 277. and *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 140.

2. P. 11.

can

can require. Such a voluminous writer may eaſily be miſunderſtood; and he could not help the ill uſe that ſome warm and eager controverſialiſts made of his great name and authority; for he himſelf was ever ſteady in the belief of this doctrine.[1] Whence then all this rancour againſt him? He gave up (it ſeems) ſome weak and inconcluſive arguments; and did not preſs into his ſervice all thoſe texts of SS, which ſome zealots urged to prove a doctrine, ſufficiently clear and eſtabliſhed without them. As *Eraſmus* wrote againſt the *Arians*; and to vindicate himſelf from any imputation of favouring them, he ſolemnly declared, that he abhorred their ſentiments; how very cruel and diſingenuous is it, to continue and repeat the charge, as if it was confeſſed and notorious! An humane and candid adverſary, after ſuch aſſeverations, would ſcorn to take any advantage of an unguarded expreſſion, that might accidentally ſlip from his pen; or to inſult his memory, by tranſmitting the calumnies of bitter, and long forgotten, enemies.

But Mr. *P*, far from this generoſity of temper, rakes up every thing he can col-

1 See, amongſt other of his writings, to name no more, *explicatio ſymbol. apoſtol. & decalog.* p. 95. *Leyden* edit. in 24°. 1641. the *Apol. adverſus Stunicam, in Johan.* 1. p. 258, and the *reſponſio ad monachos Hiſpanos.* p. 846. *Eraſ. Opp.* v. 9.

lect,

lect, or miſtake, concerning *Eraſmus*; averring, that *he aſſerts the church to be no where viſible, and was about to compoſe the epitaph of Jeſus Chriſt, as one who was no more, ſince Luther's breaſt alone contained a few ſparks of the goſpel.* And where does *Eraſmus* ſay this? ſeriouſly no where. One *Bedda*, a furious divine of *Paris*, "had exerted his malice in collecting various and "detached paſſages from *Eraſmus*, which "ſeemed to favour the *Lutherans*. . . . . At "the concluſion of his defence, *Eraſmus* "ſays, if the church is not ſupported by a "better *Atlas*, it is high time to write its "epitaph . . . I have nothing, ſays he, in "common with the ſentiments of *Luther*; "but it cannot be denied that the doctrine "of *Luther* approacheth much nearer to "the true ſpirit of chriſtianity, than the "theology of *Bedda*." [1] Our writer adds, *I omit what he ſays againſt the freedom of our will.* Kindly done indeed! If he has got ſuch a treatiſe of *Eraſmus*, it is bound up, I ſuppoſe, in the ſame volume with dean *Colet's* commentaries on the SS; [2] and kept, as a rarity, in his own ſtudy. From what *Eraſmus* communicated to the world himſelf, it appears, that ſo far from *ſaying any thing againſt the freedom of our*

P. 160.

P. 161.

1 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 113.
2 Life of *Pole*, p. 46.

will,

will, he really and truly contended, in the right ſenſe, ſtrenuouſly for it, in his memorable controverſy with *Luther*, who maintained the doctrine of fate and neceſſity; the one writing *pro libero*, the other *pro ſervo arbitrio*.

Thus have we gone through Mr. *P's* ca-
P. 162. lumnies againſt *Eraſmus*. And *if this ſubject has been too much lengthened out*, we hope to be excuſed: as we eſteemed it a debt of juſtice and gratitude to this great character, to endeavour to clear it from the miſtakes and miſrepreſentations of our biographer; who, far from cultivating that amiable ſpirit of candour and moderation, which is inſeparable from true learning, puts every thing in an odious light; and rejoices in every opportunity of expreſſing that animoſity and malice, which is equally a violation of the laws of humanity and chriſtianity. And however Mr. *P.* may plead his zeal for the peculiarities of his religious principles; yet it cannot but raiſe in others, a juſt abhorrence of that religion, which encourages ſuch outrageous acts of ſlander and defamation againſt the dead, as well as perſecution againſt the living.

P. 163. *The cardinal's late promotion gave occaſion*, as Mr. *P.* tells us, *to this digreſſion*; that is to ſay, becauſe *Hoſius*, in a congratulatory letter to *Pole*, *had given an indica-*
P. 154, 155. *tion*

tion of his ſenſe of Eraſmus's merit, he therefore thought himſelf obliged to abuſe him: and, to diſplay his own great ſtock of learning, has picked up the dirt, which they, who have little or no reputation of their own to loſe, have tried to fix upon *Eraſmus*. But when Mr. *P.* returns to his hero, he is ſo elevated with his late exertion of zeal, that, being in the proper humour of finding fault, he abruptly leaves the cardinal, whilſt he is anſwering the Doge of *Venice's* letter; and ſteps from him and *Italy*, to *Henry* and *England*. Things were going on in that *country*, in ſuch a manner, he ſays, that the new cardinal, would ſoon have *an opportunity of exerting himſelf in her behalf*. *Henry* (it ſeems) *had no ſooner aſſumed the ſupremacy of the church*, — than *one of the firſt acts of his ſpiritual power, was to ſuppreſs all religious houſes, of both ſexes, whoſe yearly income was under* 300 *marks, or* 200 *pounds, and ſeize the revenues for his own uſe*. He, who will take upon himſelf to defend all the proceedings in the ſuppreſſion of theſe, and afterwards of the greater monaſteries, muſt be an hardy man indeed; and yet, ſurely, there is none ſo zealous, as to be an advocate for them altogether.

P. 164.

P. 165.

Like all other inſtitutions, they had ſtrangely deviated from their original appointment: and what was at firſt intended as

at a remove from perfection, degenerated, by folly and length of time, into flying from the world, from the duties of ſocial and relative life, and from all the active offices of humanity, to ſerve God in uncommanded acts of ſolitary ſtrictneſſes. In *the*
1 P. 3. *iron age of ignorance and barbariſm*, when ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm prevailed in the church, proud and ambitious men found their account in copying, upon other views, the rigid auſterities of the firſt monks: the monaſtic ſtate was looked upon, as the only ſtate of perfection. By degrees, and the bleſſings of ignorance, monks and monkery increaſed to an aſtoniſhing heighth, both with reſpect to variety of rules and orders, and the numbers of profeſſed in each order: ſome of which, one would imagine, were only founded, and permitted, to ſhew how far folly and enthuſiaſm could carry men; and to give the world a ſure, but melancholy proof, how naturally ſuperſtition tends to enfeeble the mind, to draw it off from the duties of true religion, and make it contemptible and ridiculous. But a falſe notion of piety had deluded the world: and whilſt men were ignorant of the true ſpirit of chriſtianity, ſome fanatical ſaint or ſpiritual inamorato, ſerved to found, or dignify each reſpective order; and to promote the cauſe, by ſham miracles, and pretended relics.

In

In our own country we had our full ſhare: and the monaſtic ſtate, ſheltering itſelf under the pretenſion of being conſecrated to God, triumphed in eaſe, and power, and affluence; their poſſeſſions were continually increaſing; and the laity had reaſon to apprehend, that in time they might engroſs the beſt eſtates in the kingdom. In proceſs of time, they had made good ſtrides towards it: for expiring piety is oftner more fervent than diſcreet; and maſſes for the poor tormented ſouls in a fancied purgatory, would expiate the enormities of a profligate life. The Wealth, that the dead left behind them, would anſwer that expence. This made ſo many poor heirs, and ſo many rich convents; and was a comfortable and expeditious way of having the gates of paradiſe opened, at the expence of their executors. But whether their ſouls were releaſed out of purgatory or no, their eſtates remained with the monaſtery; whoſe revenues, by this means, were daily augmented.

Thus amaſſing riches and influence, the monks could not but give umbrage to the ſtate. In the year 1410, the parliament petitioned *Henry* the 4th againſt them; ſignifying, that they made an ill uſe of their riches, and conſumed their incomes, in a very different manner from their donor's intent; that their revenues ought to be leſſened: — that

that by this means the kingdom's ſafety would be better provided for, *the poor better maintained*, and the clergy more attached to their duty.[1] And again, a few years afterwards, another parliament, which had juſt enacted very ſevere laws againſt the Lollards and heretics, addreſſed his ſucceſſor, *Henry* the 5th, in 1414, upon the ſame conſiderations, and for the ſame purpoſes. ——— The clergy to avert, or at leaſt weaken this ſtorm, agreed to reſign part of their riches to the King, to ſave the reſt. They offered him the lands of all the *alien priories* being 110: and accordingly theſe were given to him by act of parliament, without the clergy's oppoſing it.[2]

Beſides this, there were inſtances in hiſtory, that the Popes had changed one order for another; and ſometimes, out of the omnipotency of their power, had entirely aboliſhed others.[3] The multiplicity of them had been long, and every where, complained of. St. *Auguſtin* (by ſome thought to have been a founder of one of the monkiſh orders) ſpeaks like a good proteſtant reformer. *Luther* could not have expreſſed his cenſures, in ſtronger terms than theſe, "we cannot tell whether they be-"came monks for purpoſe to ſerve God;

1 *Rapin's* hiſt. v. 1. p. 500.
2 Id. p. 509.
3 *Fuller's* church hiſt. B. 6. p. 301.

"or

"or elſe, being weary of their poor and "painful life, were rather deſirous to be "fed and cloathed, doing nothing:" and the alms they got, he did not ſcruple to call, "the charges of gainful poverty; and "the price of feigned holineſs."[1] *Bede*, though a monk, both in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and in his famous letter to *Egbert* arch-biſhop of *York*, wrote a ſhort time before his death, reckoned, that from their number, and the diſſolute lives of the profeſſed, they would prove prejudicial in the end to both church and ſtate.[2] And that they ſtill continued to need a reformation, cannot be doubted, when *he, who was the* P. 140. *directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the plan of reformation* before mentioned, when even *Pole* himſelf, fully acknowledged, that amongſt other grievances, theſe orders of monks and friars ought to be reformed. "For many of "them are ſo vile, that they are a ſhame "unto the ſeculars: and with their exam- "ple do much ill. *As for conventual or-*

1 *Non apparet utrum ex propoſito ſervitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem, & laboriosam fugientes, vacui paſci, & veſtiri voluerint.* ---- And the alms that they get, are called *ſumptus lucroſæ egeſtatis: & ſimulatæ pretium ſanctitatis.*

Auguſtinus de opere monach. cap. 22. & 28. cited in biſhop *Jewell's* defence of the apology, p. 451.

2 *Bede eccleſ. hiſt.* L. 5. c. 24. and his *Ep. ad Egbert*, p. 258 ---- 261. *Bedæ opera theol. edit. Wharton.*

"*ders*,

"*ders, we think it good they be all abo-*
"*liſhed.*" [1]

The eaſe with which biſhop *Fiſher*, and cardinal *Wolſey*, had procured the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral of the leſſer monaſteries in order to endow the colleges they were building, was an eſpecial precedent to *Henry*, who was now declared the ſupreme head of the church of *England*: and in the diſſolution of theſe religious houſes, he did no more, than ſome of the moſt zealous churchmen had done before. From their amazing increaſe, and too often unguarded behaviour (to ſpeak no more) wiſe men were aware, they were too much overgrown to laſt long. And when biſhop *Fox* of *Wincheſter*, in the beginning of this centrury, was inclined to found a monaſtery of the order of St. *Benedict*, he was diſſuaded from it, by his friend biſhop *Oldham* of *Exeter*, [2] and adviſed to build a college; becauſe convents, he told him, poſſeſſed more than they would long enjoy, and per-

1 *Alius abuſus corrigendus eſt in ordinibus religioſorum; quod adeo multi deformati ſunt, ut magno ſint ſcandalo ſæcularibus, exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos eſſe putamus omnes. Non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, ſed prohibendo, ne novos poſſint admittere. Sic enim ſine ullius injuria cito delerentur, & boni religioſi eis ſubſtitui poſſint. Nunc vero putamus optimum fore, ſi omnes pueri, qui non ſunt profeſſi, ab eorum monaſteriis repellerentur. Petr. Crabbe concil.* tom. 3. *conc. dilect. cardinal.* p. 822.

2 *Wood* hiſt. & antiq. *Oxon.* L. 2. p. 230.

haps

haps they themſelves might outlive them: and this was ſpoke at a time, when there could be no ſuſpicion of their impending ruin. Upon this, the biſhop of *Wincheſter* altered his mind, and founded *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford:* a ſociety by me never to be mentioned without the utmoſt gratitude and affection; which hath reflected honour upon its founder; and many of whoſe members have ſtood high in the annals of fame. A pleaſing remembrance of former days preſents itſelf:

Nec me Foxi *meminiſſe pigebit,*
Dum memor ipſe mei, dum ſpiritus hos regit artus.

The kingdom, by theſe inſtances, may be ſaid to be prepared for the alterations that ſucceeded. As the monaſtic ſocieties were founded at firſt in ſuperſtition, and encouraged by ignorance and fanaticiſm, as ſoon as *learning* and *the polite arts* had *lighted up the ſacred lamp of ſcience, which, for ſome centuries, had been almoſt totally extinct*; it was natural to inquire into the validity of ſuch donations, what power the donors had to veſt their property in ſuch unalienable tenures, and likewiſe how far the ſocieties themſelves had anſwered the end of their original foundation [1]. The

P. 3.

1 Bp. *Ellis* on ſpiritual liberty, p[t]. 1. p. 225, &c.

monks muſt thank themſelves for the rigour of this inquiry: their own imprudence had brought it upon them. They had irritated a violent and high-ſpirited prince: they had taken every opportunity, to inſult him to his face, to blacken him in the minds of his ſubjects, to foment ſedition, and to raiſe rebellions againſt him. *Henry*, thus provoked, was in ſelf-defence obliged to humble their power and influence; and to cruſh theſe ſeminaries of faction (as he found them to be) which otherwiſe, by their influence, might ſubvert his authority.

More effectually to diſcover the diſorders that had been ſo greatly complained of in that ſtate, ſeveral commiſſioners were appointed for the viſitation of theſe houſes, previous to the parliamentary ſuppreſſion of them; that, from their repreſentations, meaſures might accordingly be taken. The inſtructions given to the viſitors, to regulate their inquiry, are diſtinctly ſet down by biſhop *Burnet*[1]: and the account of their proceedings, in the execution of their commiſſion, is preſerved by that faithful hiſtorian Mr. *Strype*[2]. Theſe proceedings being laid before the parliament, brought on the acts for their diſſolution, but firſt of the

1 *Burnet*, v. 1. records, p. 131.

2 *Strype's* memorials, v. 1. c. 35, throughout, p. 251, &c. See alſo *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 190.

leſſer

leſſer monaſteries, "which (ſays lord *Her-*
"*bert*) though lamented by many . . . had
"theſe motives. The vitious and incor-
"rigible lives of monaſtical perſons, con-
"feſſed, by the whole parliament: the
"lands not employed according to the in-
"tent of the donors and founders; divers
"ſuperſtitions, and forging of miracles
"practiſed amongſt them[1].

Such an undertaking as this, where the maintenance of ſo many was concerned, could not poſſibly be proſecuted without complaint and oppoſition; neither (though in the main a beneficial ſtep) without doing private injuries, and perſonal hardſhips. Theſe uſeleſs foundations, for they were now become in a great meaſure ſuch, upon the encouragement given to the univerſities, had ſo great a ſhare of wealth and property, that if the *ancient ſuperſtition* had continued, the greateſt and beſt part of the riches and influence of the nation would have been ſunk into the hands of thoſe, who contributed little, or nothing, to the ſupport of it.

And truly, if we conſider them in a ſerious light, they were in many reſpects dangerous to the ſtate, and prejudicial to the church itſelf. They diſtreſſed the ſtate

[1] Lord *Herbert*, p. 440. *Fuller's* eccleſ. hiſt. b. 6. p. 329.

by their immenſe poſſeſſions, and by robbing it of ſuch numbers of defenſible men. Every ſtate ſhould guard againſt perpetuities; in the fewer hands property is, there is the greater danger of deſpotiſm and ſlavery. They were alſo a hindrance to the free execution of juſtice; for being moſtly exempt from civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, offenders found in them a refuge and ſanctuary from ſhame and puniſhment. They were detrimental to the church, by their great number of appropriations; by their exemption from tythes; and by, what is ſtill ſeverely felt, the ſhameful pittance they allowed the pariſh-prieſt for the ſervice of the church; for when *Henry* ſeized their eſtates, he reſerved the ſame allowance for the ſervice of the church, which the monks themſelves, out of their boundleſs generoſity, and great conſcience, had thought ſufficient for the maintenance of the pariſh-prieſt.

The antiquarian may be indulged in lamenting the demolition of theſe ancient monuments of their anceſtors ſuperſtitious and miſtaken devotion; the zealot may rail againſt the ſacrilege of perverting things plauſibly dedicated to religious purpoſes. But what, if they were founded at firſt in

1 See letter X of a ſeries of ſenſible letters publiſhed, in the *Publick Ledger*, under the name of *Candidus*.

ignorance

ignorance of the true ſpirit of religion? what if purgatory be a fable, and maſſes for the dead of no avail? then the intent and neceſſity of their inſtitution ceaſes; and the legiſlature has a right to interfere, and to inquire how far ſuch donations are really diſpoſed of for the ſervice of God, the intereſt of religion, and the benefit or civil welfare of the public: if they are found prejudicial to all, it may be preſumed, that God gives up his title and intereſt in them, and that the legiſlature is juſtifiable in reſuming them [1]. It were indeed greatly to be wiſhed, that the wealth of theſe diſſolved ſeminaries had gone into another and a better channel; and inſtead of being ſhared (however good the policy of it might be) amongſt the leading men of the laity, had, as they ought, been appropriated to the ſervice of the public; that holy *Latimer*'s propoſals had been attended to; and two or three of theſe foundations ſpared in every dioceſe, not to retain monkery, but to maintain preaching, ſtudy with praying, and good houſe-keeping. [2].

Mr. *Dod*, ſenſible that ſome irregularities might have got ground in the mo-

1 Biſhop *Ellis*'s tracts, p' 1. p. 226. *Candidus's* letter XI.

2 *Latimer's* letter to *Cromwell*. *Strype* mem. v. 1. p. 259. Lord *Herbert*, p. 506. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 237.

naſteries, candidly owns, that the reforming of them would have been "a very laud-"able undertaking, had either order, de-"cency, or meaſure been obſerved in the "execution. Frequent abuſes had for "many years been complained of, which "ſeemed to plead in favour of ſuch an at-"tempt."[1] How far true or falſe, the grievous accuſations brought againſt the profeſſed were, and what credit is to be given them, we may judge from the evidence delivered in hiſtory, which cannot well be denied. From the ſinful ſtate, horrible deeds, pious tricks, and revelations, which were contrived, and committed in the monaſteries, and are upon record, it could not but make the order infamous, and raiſe a general indignation againſt the authors of ſuch polluted actions, and ſhameful forgeries.[2] "We have the *prior of* "*St. Andrew's confeſſion* amongſt our rolls: "we have an abſtract of the *breviarium* "*compertorium in monaſteriis* a°. 1538, "which, if we do not more largely inſiſt "upon, 'tis our *good manners* that will not "ſuffer us *to talk* of thoſe ſins, which

1 Church hiſtory, p. 100.

2 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 251, *&c.* *Carte*, v. 3. p. 143. Lord *Herbert*, p. 495. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 242. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 316, *&c.*

"their

"their *religion* did not hinder them from "acting."[1]

From the natural depravity of mankind, it is impoſſible to imagine, in ſo great a multitude of people, as the ſeveral orders of the *profeſſed* amounted to, but, that many of them were not reſtrained, either by their religion, or their vows, from committing notorious and ſcandalous enormities: and there is great reaſon to think, that the commiſſioners, though, perhaps, they might in ſome caſes aggravate matters, were yet tolerably impartial, from the teſtimony they gave of the order, decency, and religion obſerved in ſome of the monaſteries and nunneries.[2]

The viſitors appointed, were different perſons for different counties and dioceſes: but we are told by Mr. *P*, that the King's *vicar* Cromwell *appointed Dr.* Lee, *a perſon of the utmoſt profligacy, chief viſitor both of the manners and property of ſuch places.* P. 165. He differs here a little from his good friend *Sanders*, from whom he took this character of Dr. *Legh*; for *that true and faithful hiſtorian* ſays, the King himſelf appointed *Legh*.[3] But they are both miſtaken;

1 *Atterbury's* anſwer to the Conſiderations of the ſpirit of *Martin Luther*, p. 21.

2 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 254, &c. and 268. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 155, &c. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 316.

3 De ſchiſm. Anglic. p. 136.

for *Legh* was not the chief, or the moſt active; the others were inveſted with equal powers; for he might have learned from *Collier*,[1] or rather from *Dod*,[2] who copies *Collier*, and to whom our induſtrious and laborious author is obliged for all his authorities and information concerning the diſſolution of theſe religious houſes, both the leſſer and the greater ones: they would tell him, that this viſitation was ſuggeſted to *Cromwell* by *Layton*, who recommended *Legh*;[3] and if *he was a perſon of the utmoſt profligacy*, he was a fit perſon to be employed in the dirty work of detecting the guilt of others. Dr. *London*, warden of *New Coll. Oxon*, and dean of *Wallingford*, who was one of the viſitors, we freely own to have been really *a perſon of the utmoſt profligacy*. He did open penance in *Oxford*, for incontinency:[4] and when this viſitation was over, he could not reſt, but was convicted of perjury, in being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt ſome of the King's ſervants, as ſuppoſed favourers of the reformation.[5]

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.
2 Church hiſt. p. 101.
3 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.
4 *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 377. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 241.
5 *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 327. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 314.

Had

Had any of these commissioners set themselves up as patrons of the *new doctrines*, (as Mr. *P.* terms them) there might have been greater room for clamour against them; as if they were employed in an attempt that would end in the *total subversion of the* P. 167. *ancient worship*; but it doth not appear that any of them had the least tendency that way: and how much soever they were instrumental, in exposing the immoralities of the monasteries, they persevered, and many of their families still continue, in their *ancient faith*. If they wantonly abused their power, that be to themselves; they were good *catholics*; and they were but poorly rewarded for all their trouble: and I know of no advantage, any of them reaped, by opening the stores of such plunder, if *Layton* be excepted, who, in 1537, was made dean of *York*, and died not many years after.

The people, Mr. *P.* informs us, *were* P. 166. *spectators of these innovations,——and the King's real motives, in these proceedings, were but too visible.* What the King's *real motives* were, at this interval of time, we cannot determine: we know, however, he might have good and substantial reasons for so doing. We sincerely pity, with our tender-hearted biographer, the hard fate

x *Harmer's* errors in *Burnet*, p. 57.

of

of thoſe who were turned adrift by this viſitation: but here we differ; our compaſſion is confined to the perſonal diſtreſſes of the ſuffering parties; for we do not at all lament the demolition of ſuch nurſeries of vice, of idleneſs, and of ſuperſtition.

Such a reform could not be made, but ſome individuals muſt greatly ſuffer. Mr. *P*, who loveth much to enlarge, tells us, that the younger monks, that is, thoſe
P. 165. *under the age of 24, were compelled to leave their monaſteries; the reſt were left at their own diſcretion, either to ſtay or depart; but thoſe who remained were mured up, and not permitted to go out of their houſes.* *John Stowe*, from whom this intelligence was had, does ſay ſomething, that at firſt view looks like it. For he ſays, that "when "the younger monks, and thoſe who would "go, were put forth, the viſitors, after "cloſed up the reſidue that would re-"main." This ſounded like a greater hardſhip than what either *Dod* or *Collier* ſay; and therefore was put down to exaggerate the perſecutions of the monks. The other hiſtorians content themſelves with reporting, "that thoſe who had li-"ved longer than 24 years, when they "turned *religious*, might have the liberty "either to quit their profeſſion, or remove

1 *Stowe's* Annals, p. 572.

"to

"to a larger houſe;"[1] which was not quite ſo bad as being immured. Nor do we wonder, at what lord *Herbert* (whom, by the by, Mr. *P.* did not conſult upon this occaſion) ſays, that many (eſpecially they who got nothing thereby) were grieved to ſee the monks and the nuns wandering abroad.[2] Neither is the number of theſe unfortunate ſufferers computed by him, but by *Fuller*, to amount to the number of 10,000 perſons.[3] The truth of the matter is, our ſagacious writer found a long, connected quotation in Mr. *Dod*,[4] from *Collier*, *Fuller*, and *Herbert*; which he has turned to his own uſe, but unfortunately has not clearly diſtinguiſhed his authorities, for want of a little neceſſary care to conſult them himſelf. But, however, none of them pretend to ſay, that whilſt the monks and the nuns *were wandering about*, and ſtarving, *the commiſſioners rioted in the profit of theſe confiſcations.* But as all the writers referred to by Mr. *P.* are ſilent upon this head, we ſhould not accuſe the viſitors of more crimes than they committed; and all P. 166.

1 *Dod*, v. 1. p. 105. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 109.
2 Lord *Herbert*, p. 441.
3 *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 311.
4 Church hiſtory, p. 104. citing *Collier*, v. 2. p. 155, and p. 180. *Fuller*, p. 312. and lord *Herbert*, p. 377.---the very ſame references as are made by Mr. *P.* p. 166.

that

that lord *Herbert* ſays, is to this purpoſe; "that the commiſſioners refuſed to re- "deem *a piece of St. Andrew's finger*, co- "vered with an ounce of ſilver, which was "pawned by one of the monaſteries for 40 "pounds."[1] If the broker had more faith than the commiſſioners, he muſt have a good bargain, for ſuch a trifle, to retain ſo precious a relic; which might work mi- racles for his benefit whilſt alive; and, af- ter his death, prevent him from ſtaying long in purgatory.

Thus did the famous *ſupplication of beg- gars*, wrote ſome years[2] before this viſita- tion was ſet on foot, or thought of, meet with greater encouragement, than Sir *Tho- mas More's ſupplication of the ſouls in pur- gatory*: what *theſe* might loſe by the fall of the monaſteries is hard to ſay; the living ſouls, however, had no reaſon to complain, for, by the act of diſſolution, the ſame good hoſpitality, under great penalties,[3] was to be kept up; and though the tenants had changed landlords, the lands were not gone, they continued as before: and whatſoever inſurrections might be foment- ed, and ſupported by the ejected, and of

1 P. 441.

2 Mr. *Fox* ſuppoſes it to have been wrote in 1527. V. 2. p. 279.

3 *Fuller* (Church hiſt. p. 312.) ſays, the penalty was 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a month.

courſe,

courſe, diſcontented monks, they ſoon came to nothing. The King being maſter of his parliament, was equally ſo of his kingdom: and thoſe haſty and unſucceſsful riſings, which ſucceeded this diſſolution of the monaſteries, though all under the ſpecious pretence of *religion and ancient uſages*, did but ſerve the more effectually to extirpate the religious orders, root and branch; and haſten the viſitation of the greater monaſteries, whoſe members had remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by their zeal and activity in abetting theſe commotions.

The pleas that theſe ſeveral *inſurgents* urged, plainly ſhewed, that they were ſtirred up by the monks: the leader of the *Lincolnſhire inſurrection*, was Dr. *Mackerel*, prior of *Barlings*, and many years a ſuffragan biſhop in the dioceſe of *Lincoln*; who, diſguiſed as a mechanic, called himſelf captain *Cobler*. The next rebellion (for the former was ſoon quelled) diſcovered its intentions, under *the quaint name of the pilgrimage of grace:* a more regular and formidable body than the other; and who ſeemed to have had ſome leaders, well ſkilled in the proper application of thoſe popular and plauſible incentives, which can at any time irritate a mob, abuſe of a miniſtry, and the cry of religion and liberty. And why? becauſe a few ſturdy monks had been ſent abroad into the world, to become

P. 168.

P. 169.

uſeful

uſeful members of the ſtate. However, this great body, upon the aſſurance of pardon, was ſoon prevailed upon to lay down their arms.

The river *Dun* was ſo obſtinately heretical, as by a repeated *inundation to be rendered impaſſable*, and twice to diſconcert the ſchemes of theſe pious perſons, whoſe *uneaſineſs* at the *apprehenſion of a total ſubverſion of the ancient worſhip* led them *into overt acts of hoſtility*, againſt their ſovereign. Had the river continued fordable, or had an high wind chanced to have made it ſhallower than ordinary, how happily might our hiſtorian, who is ſo much given to *judgments*, have flouriſhed upon the favour of heaven in ſo remarkably declaring for theſe *injured inſurgents?* How effectually would this have *obviated whatever may be objected to the lawfulneſs of the method of redreſs, by thoſe who are inattentive to the provocation?* Much better than the reaſons he hath aſſigned. But alas! *theſe tumults*, and all the riſings that ſucceeded, were ſoon ſtopped; and the rebels made nothing out, notwithſtanding *the motives on which they juſtified their proceedings.* *Henry*'s power and good fortune prevailed, though truſted to that general, who *was the moſt powerful of all thoſe who favoured the ancient religion*, and who was *throughly perſuaded of her faith and worſhip.*

P. 170. P. 167. P. 168. P. 168. P. 171. P. 172.

Thus

Thus an end was put to these several commotions: and some of the rebel leaders, not keeping their terms with the King, met with the reward of their treason. "For, thinking the King dilatory, "general *Ask* and the rest of his adherents "fly again to arms, and endeavour to re-"kindle in the north, the fire that was "lately extinguished." [1] Can *Henry* then be blamed, upon these repeated provocations, for using some severity, and making an example of some, to prevent future revolts? However, when the principal managers of these disturbances were executed, "the King," says lord *Herbert*, "by letter to the duke of *Norfolk*, said, he "would close this tragedy, for he sent now "a general pardon; which was received "with great joy, many being terrified "with the duke's proceedings." [2] *To which act of grace*, though lord *Herbert* does *not* say it, *he adhered.* P. 171.

After this doleful account, which our biographer has given, of the lamentable state of monks and monkery in *England*, and the ineffectual struggles of those *insurgents*, who had taken up arms *in favour of the ancient doctrine*, which was plainly P. 173.

1 *Dod*, church hist. v. 1. p. 106.

2 Lord *Herbert*, p. 492. (not p. 248, where we are referred by Mr. *P.*)

intended

intended to prepare us for what follows; the hero of the work before us is again introduced, but in a character, which we cannot help thinking will place him in a moſt offenſive light. We ſhall find him buſily employed in doing the dirty work of a ſpiritual incendiary; and exerting every effort of ſanctified malice, in abetting rebellions, and exciting the principal powers of *Europe* to interfere in the management of affairs in *England*. The event ſhewed the folly of the Pope, and *Pole's* vanity and ignorance of the world, to imagine that the
P. 175. *ſeveral potentates*, to whom he was ſent *with*
P. 173. *the quality of legate*, would liſten to the religious complaints of a fanatical enthuſiaſt. They could not but deteſt the preſumption of that emiſſary, who went, from court to court, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt his King and his country: they received him with that ſcorn and contempt which his behaviour deſerved; and would not condeſcend to admit to any familiar converſation, or even into their preſence, the active inſtrument of ſo ſhameful and unnatural a commiſſion.

The flouriſhing pen of our panegyrical hiſtorian may gloſs over the infamy of this commiſſion: but let the impartial reader hear and determine, whether *Pole's* behaviour in this ſpiritual embaſſy, even from *Quirini's*, and Mr. *P's* own repreſentation of

of it, can entitle him to any gentler appellation, than that of being a rebel, and a traitor to his country. His own letters furniſh us with ſufficient proofs of this charge, which did not ſo clearly appear before. We learn from them, that he was ſent into *Flanders* by the Pope, at the very time when the rebels were in arms in the north, to encourage and aſſiſt them; and to ſpirit up the Emperor and the King of *France*, to war againſt his own ſovereign, to whom, by his own confeſſion, he had the higheſt obligations. *His credentials* (as they are termed) *from the Pope*, were calculated to juſtify the laſt, and to raiſe future rebellions in *England*. P. 175.

The holy father of the chriſtian church, in theſe credentials, has given a ſpecimen of the uſual manner in which himſelf, and his pious predeceſſors, exerted their *univerſal ſuperintendence over the church*. His addreſs, not to *the Engliſh nation* in general, as Mr. *P.* tells us, but only to the catholic biſhops and noblemen, was, to encourage their rebellion, and to expreſs his joyful hopes of their ſucceſs.[1] His letters P. 178. P. 175.

1 *Paulus* III. *ad epiſcopos Angles, ac proceres catholicos illius regni, &c. --- Angliæ populi nuper pœnitentiam facto, & ſuam voluntatem pariter oſtenderunt armis pro ſanctâ religione, & veteri ejus obſervantia ſumptis, quorum nos, ſicut aberratione doluerâmus, ita reverſione maxime lætati.*

Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXVII. *inter Monum. Prælim.*

to the kings of *Scotland*,[1] and *France*,[2] and to *Mary* governeſs of the *Low Countries*,[3] were written with the ſame holy deſign; earneſtly to ſolicit them, for the love of God, religion, and the church, to aſſiſt thoſe zealous people of *England*, who choſe to obey God rather than man; and

1 *Idem Regi Scotiæ.* —— *Nos . . a te cum præſentibus omni ſtudio, & amore per Jeſum Dominum petimus, ut nobis, & Romanæ eccleſiæ in pietate dictorum populorum (ſc. Angliæ) fovenda ac retinenda auxilio eſſe, Deique cauſam juvare tu in primis velis, cui occaſio id faciendi propinquior & commodior.* ---- And when he ſent him the baubles of a ſword and cap of maintenance, bleſſed the night after *Chriſtmas* day -- he told him that at this time, it was a proper preſent, becauſe -- *vicini tibi regis impietas divina ultione concutitur* --- and that he had kept himſelf free from the imputation of hereſy. And *the typical ſignification of each preſent is thus ſet off*, (p. 176) *ut Deus tibi dextram enſe firmet, caputque tuum hoc pileo vi ſpiritus ſancti per columbam figurati protegat ad tutelam ſanctæ eccleſiæ, & catholicæ fidei, adverſus eos, in quos Dei juſtitia, atque judicium nunc præparantur.*

Ibid. p. CCLXVII. & p. CCLXIX.

2 *Idem Regi Chriſtianiſſimo.*—— *Cum mitteremus . . . legatum noſtrum -- ad confirmandam illorum Angliæ populorum pietatem. qui in veræ, & catholicæ fidei cultu manere cupiunt, propterea que juvandi a nobis, & omnibus bonis ſunt.* ---- he goes on, and entreats and exhorts him, *ut te, & favorabilem ad juvandos veræ religionis zelatores, (i. e.* the rebels) *& placabilem ad conſilia pacis præbere velis, a qua hoc tempore cætera bona dependent.* And he tells both theſe princes, *hæc plenius & particularius idem legatus ſit explicaturus.*

Ibid. p. CCLXX.

3 *Idem Reginæ Mariæ gubernatrici Flandriæ.* —— *Reliqua eſſe debent poſita in veſtra opera, exequutione, atque auxilio.* *Ibid.* p. CCLXXII.

that

that the legate would explain theſe matters more fully and particularly. But the language of *Pole's* inſtructions, or his *memorial*, is much plainer; and diſcovers, that this devout miſſionary was ſent upon the old errand, of ſupporting religion, by abetting civil diſſenſions; for with other ſuggeſtions, calculated to promote the intereſt of the papal faction, was this chriſtian propoſal, that, in caſe the King ſhould not keep his word with them, *ſome proper perſon ſhould be appointed to keep up their* (the rebels) *reſolution, and a ſufficient fund allowed for that purpoſe.*[1] P. 176. P. 177.

Such were the extraordinary practices of the Pope, ſuch the infamous commiſſion which *Pole* undertook; both of them hereby intending to diſplay their *zeal for reuniting ſo fair a portion to the catholic church. The principles on which* his holineſs *proceeded, were drawn* (ſays Mr. *P.*) *from that univerſal ſuperintendence, which obliged him to watch over the ſpiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him* A RIGHT TO USE SUCH MEANS *as are proper to effect it:* SUCH, we are to take it for granted, from the inſtance before us, as exciting rebellions, ſtirring up wars, and any ſuch means, however violent or wicked, to remedy *thoſe evils, in which* (as was pretended) P. 173. P. 178. P. 183.

1. *Quir.* v, 2, p. CCLXXIV. *inter Monum. prælim.*

pretended) *the King had involved himself and the whole kingdom.* But as the Pope, and his zealous agent, were thus open in their attempts againſt *Henry* and his kingdom, could they expect that a king of his ſpirit would tamely ſuffer them to proceed, without making them feel the weight of his power, and expoſing the abſurdity of their ſchemes? His ſubject, his relation, his friend, had publicly caſt off his allegiance and duty to an indulgent ſovereign; and was engaged in ſuch open acts of mean hoſtility, as no ſtate and government could poſſibly connive at. He therefore wilfully drew the ſtorm upon himſelf; and by thus daring *Henry's* reſentment, had no reaſon to complain of the King's behaviour; which needeth no other defence or apology, for driving the traitorous emigrant from place to place, than his own account of the nature and motives of his religious embaſſy.

Mr. *P*, conſcious of the objections that may juſtly be made to this part of his hero's conduct, has endeavoured to palliate his entering *on a kind of offenſive ſtate with his ſovereign: ---- by laying before the reader, the legate's manner of reaſoning on it.* The legate is indeed much obliged to the kindneſs of his biographer, for the pains he hath taken to make him ſpeak ſo learnedly in his firſt book on the church's unity,

P. 178.

where,

where, with all his art, he would find it no eaſy matter to produce that *manner of reaſoning*, he has aſcribed to it; for moſt of the facts hinted at, in our author's extract from it, were *poſterior* to the writing of that work, and therefore could not be mentioned in it: nay ſo far is the legate from complaining of being *outlawed*, as Mr. *P.* ſays, that he tells the King, in another part of this very work, that nothing but an irreſiſtible impulſe compelled him to reproach him, for that though the King, "at this very time was perſecuting others "of the ſame ſentiments with himſelf, he "was yet encouraging his ſtudies."[1] But, however, as they were the ſentiments of *Pole*, and what (afterwards) *in his letters and other works, he alleges as the motives of his conduct*, we will let it paſs with obſerving, that *Pole*, like all other rebels, juſtified his treaſonable practices, by accuſing the King *of violating the original contract*. But how the Pope's ſupremacy is any part of this *original contract*, or was included in the *rights and immunities of the church, ſecured by the grand charter*, is a point which ſtill remains to be proved. The P. 179. P. 178.

1 *Qui hoc ipſo tempore, quo alios, qui eandem quam ego ſententiam defendunt, acerrime infectatur, mea ſtudia benignitate ſua fovet.*

De Unit. L. 4. p. 84.

grand charter does indeed enact, that *the church of England* ſhould be free; but not a word is there mentioned of the Pope, or his power; and his *ſupremacy* was ever deemed an *yoke of ſlavery*, both on the people and church of *England*. And moreover the Pope looked upon this *charter* as ſo detrimental to his intereſt, that he condemned, and publiſhed a *bull* againſt it; and, out of the plenitude of his power, abſolved the weak King, who had ſigned this, and the other charter of the foreſt, from the oath he had taken to obſerve them [1].

Mr. *P*, to add greater weight to the repreſentation he hath made of *Pole*'s embaſſy, is pleaſed to tell his reader, that the cardinal gave an account of his behaviour,
P. 179. *through the whole negotiation, firſt to cardinal Pio,—and afterwards to Edward* VI.
P. 180. *Theſe documents*, he adds, *were made public when the affair was recent*; and from not being contradicted, we are to ſuppoſe them to be true. But here unfortunately our biographer differs from *Quirini*,[2] who ſays that *none of the documents*, relating to this embaſſy, *were made public*, except *Pole*'s letters of *credence* from the Pope to the ſo-

1 *Echard's* hiſt. of *England*, v. 1. p. 254. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 277.

2 *Quirini*, v. 2. *Præfatio*, p. 31, & p. CCLXVII, *&c. inter Monum. Pralim.*

vereigns

vereigns above-mentioned, and to the cardinal of *Liege*, and a letter to *Pole* himſelf, and another to the King of the *Romans* from his holineſs; which were ſome years after inſerted in *Raynaldus*'s annals. And with regard to the letter to *Edward* VI. Mr. *P.* himſelf, in another place, tells us, that it was firſt made public *by pro-* P. 441.
feſſor Schelhorn, in 1737: and, beſides, he doubteth whether ever it reached *the prince, to whom it was addreſſed.* Is he ſure it was ever ſent him? however, as *none of the do-* P. 180.
cuments were made public, when the affair was recent, neither the *miniſters* of *Henry*, or of *Edward*, could poſſibly *have detected and expoſed miſrepreſentations, or impoſtures of any kind.* We will venture however to ſay, the former would have rejoiced, had any of theſe precious *documents*, preſerved by *Quirini*, and referred to by Mr. *P*, fallen into their hands: they would undoubtedly, for their own ſake, have *made them public*; and attempted no other vindication of their proceedings againſt the ſeditious and treaſonable writer of them.

I will not deny (ſays the legate, *with his* P. 183.
artleſs freedom, as it is called, *to Edward* VI.) *but that, if offices of perſuaſion and friendſhip were to no effect, I then adviſed them*, (*i. e.* the powerful princes he was ſent to) *to employ threats, and to break off all intercourſe and communication with Henry.*

P. 184. And yet we are required to believe, *with how little juſtice he has been accuſed of hatred to his prince, and making uſe of all arts to diſtreſs him.* If ſo, what may we not believe? A little cant and diſſimulation will ſanctify any outrageous action: and the villain, who ſtabs his friend, may be ſaid to do it, out of mere love and kindneſs. *Quirini* does indeed condeſcend to ſay, that *Pole* ſaid, and did all this, not out of *hatred* to his prince, but out of *duty* to the Pope, as his *legate*, and as repreſenting his perſon.[1] As this is the beſt apology, which the friends of *Pole* can make for his conduct, they are welcome to make the moſt of it they can, and to try how far it will mitigate the crime of ſuch high offences.

To enhance the perſonal merit of *Pole's* P. 184, 185. character, we are next told of *a letter, wrote* to him *on the part of both houſes of parliament, and that . . . each of the members of this illuſtrious body put their name to*

1 *Quicunque Polus in iis legationibus adverſus Henricum molitus fuerit, pro injuncto ſibi a Paulo pontifice legati munere, fideliter molitum fuiſſe, ac proinde ex ea cauſa non Vaticani odii culpam, ſed integræ & ſacræ fidei laudem promeruiſſe. Non erat prorſus, cur odii illius invidia in eum caderet, qui in iis legationibus non propriam, ſed Principis ſui perſonam repræſentabat.*
Quirini, v. 2. Ep. alt. Schelhornii cum animad. p. XIV.

it,

it. If this was really the caſe, greater attention was ſhewed to *Pole*, than he deſerved; and his ingratitude and obſtinacy, in proceeding on his legation, ſo contrary to their requeſt, is the more apparent. That ſuch a letter might be ſubſcribed by ſome of the members of both houſes, and ſent to *Pole*, is probable enough: we will not call his veracity in queſtion, ſince he ſo ſolemnly appeals to it; but then it was done as a *private*, not a *parliamentary* act; for ſo ſingular and uncommon a mark of reſpect, and coming from *the whole body*, could not have eſcaped the notice of our hiſtorians; who are totally ſilent about it.[1] The private friends of *Pole*, in each houſe, might endeavour to reclaim him by ſuch an inſtance of their regard; and his own vanity might induce him to reckon it, *the public act of the whole* parliament.

1 *Collier*, *Burnet*, *Strype*, *Fuller*, *Godwin*, *Hume*, *Stow*, *Herbert*, *Carte*, *Rapin*, *Echard*, *Wood* and *Baker*, do none of them ſay a word of any ſuch public letter. *Beccatelli*, *Dudithius*, *Gratiani*, and *Sanders* are ſilent about it. Neither does Mr. *Dod*, in the long account of *Pole* inſerted (p. 472, *&c.*) in his church-hiſtory, take any notice of it, though, beſides other authorities, he refers to a MS. of *Pinning*, the cardinal's ſecretary, reſerved in *Doway* college. — The Journals of the houſe of lords, which begin in the firſt year of *Henr.* VIII. mention no ſuch act: thoſe of the houſe of commons do not extend farther than the reign of *Edward* VI.

Nothing

Nothing, however, could ſtop our religious adventurer. But alas! in the en-
P. 193. trance almoſt of his journey, an *unexpected turn of affairs* happened, which *ſeemed to diſconcert all his meaſures with reſpect to*
P. 192. *England.* The *incident*, here hinted at, was *the defeat of the inſurgents*, whoſe cauſe he was ſo ſolicitous to ſerve, and on
P. 191. whoſe ſucceſs, *every thing depended.* But theſe were only the forerunners of ſtill more mortifying events. The King of *France*, and the Emperour, would not admit him
P. 197. to their preſence; *and excluded him from their dominions.*

After this repeated diſappointment, our zealous legate retreated in diſgrace and chagrin, and for ſome time took up his lodgings at *Cambray*; from whence he wrote that diſpatch to the Pope, which Mr. *P*, with his uſual embelliſhment, tells us his
P. 201. holineſs admired *as a model on which public perſons might form their manner of writing*; that is, he recommended it to his grandſon, cardinal *Farneſe*, for his imitation.[1] This was enough to ſet *Quirini* on: he,

1 *Pontifex ſummopere laudavit epiſtolam tuam, quam confeſtim legendam miſit, cardinali Farneſio, nepoti ſuo, ut ſibi exemplum habeat, ad cujus inſtar poſſit animum, & bonis literis colere, & eximiis etiam virtutibus ac præſertim chriſtianæ pietati inhærere.*
Contareni, ep. Polo. Quirini, v. 2. p. 70.

good

good man, goes much farther; and does not ſcruple to maintain, *that Pole wrote this diſpatch, eſpecially the latter part of it, under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghoſt.*' Such is *Quirini's* nauſeous incenſe! Whilſt our eccleſiaſtical embaſſador was at this place, had our biographer vouchſafed to have conſulted our hiſtorians, he would have found that ſome of them have preſerved a memorable letter which *Pole* wrote from thence to *Cromwell*, complaining of the King's behaviour, and his own attainder[2]; but as if every thing he could do was right, wholly omitting the groſs and unpardonable provocations he had given his ſovereign. But ſaints never are, or own themſelves, in fault.

From hence, our unſucceſsful legate went to *Liege*; where, *though all the functions of* P. 203. *the miniſter were locked up, — the man never appeared in a more amiable and inſtructive light. The virtues of his domeſtic life* muſt not be paſſed by unnoticed; our biographer therefore obliges us, from *Quirini*, with a relation of his daily employment, which was ſuch, he ſays, *that the pomp and oſten-* P. 205, *tation of that court, which perſecuted him,*

1 —— *Ipſa ſcribenti Polo ſpiritus ſanctus, cujus proinde habitaculum foret illius pectus, dictaſſe conſendus eſt.* *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diatriba*, p. LXXII.

2 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. p. 301, and App. p. 218. *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 129. Records, p. 469. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 137.

was

was effaced by the ſhades and by-paths of his retirements. This account, of the manner of *Pole's* ſpending his time, giveth the impartial Mr. *P*, by the help of his maſter,[1] an opportunity of aſperſing the memory of
P. 205. *Luther and his reforming companions at Smalcald*, by producing the authority of ſo
P. 206. *unexceptionable a voucher*, as *John Cochley*. But here, we except againſt the teſtimony of this *voucher:* we look upon him in the ſame light, as we do upon *Nicholas Sanders*;[2] as little better than a common liar, caring little what he ſaid, ſo he could but faſten ſome *odium* upon the heretics. Our author, to ſupport the teſtimony of *Cochley*, and to vouch for his character, has ſummoned the very reſpectable *Thuanus* as ſpeaking well of him; but here, according to his uſual fairneſs, he has wilfully omitted a very material part of his evidence, where he ſpeaks of him as *vehement in controverſy*.[3] Agreeably to this deſcription, we are informed by another writer of that communion, " that *Cochley* was the perſon " that entered the liſts ofteneſt againſt the " *Lutherans*. — Were it not for that reaſon " he would not be ſo much as known: " and all that we know of his life is, that for

1 *Quirini*, v. 2. Diat. p. cv, & p. cvi.
2 See p. 4. and p. 171.
3 *Præterea acer in diſputando. Thuan.* l. 11. A. D. 1552.

" the

" the ſpace of 30 years, — *viz.* from 1521 " to 1550, his fruitful pen produced every " year more than one treatiſe againſt " them. — In his treatiſes of controverſy," he adds, " there is a great mixture of po- " liticks and perſonal matters. He ſome- " times makes uſe of hard words and " bitter invectives againſt *Luther* and the " other hereticks. — He was a rigid de- " fender of the doctrines and cuſtoms of " the church, a declared enemy to all ac- " commodations, by which any thing of " the rigour was to be remitted."[1] This is the character of Mr. *P's unexceptionable voucher*. *Luther*, though he was ever provoked by him, yet deſpiſed him ſo much, that he would not condeſcend to reply to ſo teizing and inſignificant an adverſary, having found by experience that no reaſoning could convince him.[2]

Acrimonious reflections naturally fall from the pens of ſuch proſtitute and bigotted writers: but how baſely falſe and ſcandalous they are in the article before us, will appear at firſt view, when we conſider what *Luther and his reforming companions at Smalcald*, were really doing. They met

1 *Dupin, eccleſ. hiſt.* 16 *cent.* part 1, p. 456, 466.

2 *Cochleio, non eſt ut reſpondeatur, cum aliis ſimus occupati melioribus, & ejuſmodi libri per ſe pereant, quotidie multi. Lutheri ep.* v. 2. p. 183, cited by *Seckendorf*, B. 1. p. 315.

(we

(we are told by thoſe who knew more of the matter, than Mr. *P*, or his *voucher*) clergy and princes, to conſult what anſwer ſhould be given to the Pope, who had ſummoned a council to be held at *Mantua*; when the articles called, from the place, the *Smalcaldic* articles, were agreed to, ſigned, and publiſhed, which contained their opinions of all thoſe important points, which were at that time the ſubject of controverſy. They had alſo conferences with the Emperor's embaſſador, upon the ſtate of affairs in *Germany*. " And moreover " that all men might underſtand the rea- " ſonableneſs of their proceedings, and the " grounds upon which they refuſed the " council, they thought it convenient to " ſet them down in writing, which paper " they afterwards publiſhed in print." [1] This was pretty good employment, and more ſerviceable to the cauſe of religion
P. 205. *than the ſhades and by-paths of* the legate's *retirements: or his evening-walks on the banks of the Maeſe.* And though it was beyond *Cochley's* abilities to refute what thoſe reforming divines publiſhed, he found it eaſy to calumniate; and has paſſed in effect the ſame ſentence upon them, which

1 *Sleidan*, B. 11. p. 226, *&c.* *Seckendorf*, B. 3. p 150---157. *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 113---116 *Records*, p 443---456.

the

the apoſtles, their predeceſſors, met with from the mockers of their days, theſe *men are full of new wine*; and with equal truth. Mr. *P*, becauſe he found it in *Quirini*, hath adopted this wicked calumny;[1] and muſt anſwer for it, as the retailer of party violence and defamation.

The cardinal of *Liege's* civilities to our ſpiritual rambler, gave occaſion to our biographer, *to trace out*, what he calls, *a ſhort sketch of* that prince's *character:* to elucidate which, as being a little exaggerated, we alſo will beg leave to add an anecdote or two, *related by a cotemporary author, who had every opportunity of being informed of it; and who is*, upon all occaſions, allowed by *Thuanus, to be an unexceptionable voucher.* From *Sleidan*, we learn, "that none was more ſevere againſt "the reformers than this cardinal." The *very ſumptuous memorial of himſelf, which he erected ſome years before his death*, ſerved equally to diſplay his magnificence and his folly; which were rendered ſtill more conſpicuous, "by his having thoſe funeral "dirges and ceremonies, which the Pa-"piſts uſe for the dead, performed anni-"verſarily for him; imagining that thoſe "ſervices of the prieſts, which they ac-"count meritorious, and believe eternal

P. 209.

P. 206.

P. 210.

1 *Quirini*, v. 2. Diat. p. cv, & cvi.

"life

" life is due to them, would do him moſt " good when he was alive. But thoſe " who pretended to know the man more " intimately, ſaid he did all this, out of a " ſpirit of vanity, becauſe his ambitious " humour was pleaſed with the ſolemnity " of the office." [1] A greater inſtance of a vain-glorious and empty mind need not be deſired.

We ſhall conclude this ſection, by expreſſing our admiration, that *Pole*, who is ſo ready, upon all occaſions, to appeal to the judgments of providence, and ſo preſumptuouſly to apply them to himſelf, ſhould acknowledge none of theſe interpoſitions, when he perceived his ſpiritual peregrinations, though undertaken, as he frequently expreſſed himſelf, for the cauſe of Chriſt, were [2] rendered ſo unſucceſsful; and that his return to *Rome, the capital of the Chriſtian world, and the centre of religion*, was attended with ſuch ſhame and confuſion.

P. 145.

1 *Sleidan*, B. 12. p. 240.

2 *Legatus vicarii Chriſti, Chriſti cauſa. Poli ep. Rodulpho Pio, cardinali Carpenſi. Quirini*, v. 2. *ep.* p. 35. *Mea legatio Chriſti cauſa ſuſcepta. Ep. Poli Camillo Urſino. Ibid.* p. 128, *&c. &c.*

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FOURTH.

POLE's legantine commiſſion having been rendered fruitleſs, and the ſeveral inſurrections in *England* being quelled; *which, as it always happens when ſuch attempts fail of ſucceſs, only ſtrengthened that government, they were deſigned to overthrow:* *Henry*, having now no apprehenſions of diſturbance from any quarter, found himſelf at leiſure to purſue ſome further regulations, which the diſconcerted ſchemes of his enemies enabled him to proſecute without interruption. Several of the monaſtic profeſſion having been too haſty and imprudent in encouraging the late tumults, and the rebels having demanded the reſtoration of the ejected of that order, as one of the principal grievances to be redreſſed; the monks had reaſon to fear, that exaſperated and triumphant power would call them to account for their ill-timed zeal. Pt. 2d. p. 33, 34.

The King's power and influence was visible, in those monasteries which were already dissolved: and the late behaviour of the professed had given him the fairest opportunity to eradicate the remainder. His experience had convinced him, that so long as any of that order were left, he should find them as troublesome to him, as they had been to any of his predecessors; and that they could not well be looked upon in any other light, than "as a body of re-"serve for the Pope, and always ready to "appear in his quarrels, and support his "claims."[1]

The entire extirpation of the religious houses being determined, the King proceeded in the same method in the suppression of those which were left, as he had done with those which were dissolved before, *viz.* by a visitation of them, and by parliamentary authority. This occasions, what is not to be marvelled at at all, a fresh discharge of our author's bitterness against *Henry*. The interest of the *Romish* church was hurt: and its adherents may be allowed to murmur. But here, we cannot help wishing, that Mr. *P.* had been honest at the same time, and not taken to himself the honour of the reflections he makes upon this subject. In his account of the dis-

1 *Collier*. eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 102.

solution

ſolution of the leſſer monaſteries, he had been greatly obliged to Mr. *Dod*, the popiſh church hiſtorian, without making him any acknowledgment: in the preſent narration of the fall of the greater ones, he is ſtill more obliged to him; but with the ſame paltry diſingenuity, he induſtriouſly concealeth the kind collector of his materials: and though *every one* of his references are plainly taken from Mr. *Dod*, yet is he never named.[1]. Thus does our author, with his uſual art and freedom, aſſume to himſelf the credit of another perſon's labours. Neither of them however have much to boaſt of, in the article before us; for *Collier*, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, had prepared every thing for them: it was but copying, and referring to him;

[1] So implicitly does our author rely upon Mr. *Dod*, that he even copies his blunders; and to prove, that the *King's paſſions ran ſo ſtrong for a diſſolution, that he could ſcarce endure the report of a fair character given to the religious*, (p. 213) he refers us to *Giffard's, one of the commiſſioners, letter to Cromwell*, without ſaying where that letter is to be met with. It is true, Mr. *Dod*, by the manner in which he hath cited theſe words, (p. 108) might lead him into this miſtake: but if Mr. *P.* had conſulted *Collier* himſelf, he would have found, that theſe are, not *Giffard's* words, but *Collier's* reflections upon his unſucceſsful application in behalf of the priory of *Woolſtrop*.

Eccleſ. hiſt. v. 2. p. 156.

and then their impartiality could not be queſtioned.

But *Henry's* accumulated guilt, in this diſſolution of monkery, muſt be clear and
P. 219. allowed; for we are told, that *had the monks been heard in their own cauſe, they could not have pleaded it with greater energy than* proteſtant writers *have done it for them, on the evidence of facts, and from a principle which will do honour to their writings, whilſt equity and the lingering ſpirit of religion has yet applauſe in Britain.* As if religion had really ſuffered, by the extirpation of ſuch ſort of houſes. Let us ſee then, what theſe *fair reaſoners* have to plead in their behalf; and, whether their authorities are *fairly* produced.

Mr. *P*, and the defenders of the monaſteries, have urged many arguments, from the excellency or piety of the ſtate itſelf, from the numbers of the profeſſed, and their revenues; which, however ſpecious they might formerly appear, have, by length of time, loſt all their weight; and may rather be deemed unanſwerable objections againſt them. The riches of a ſtate are the number and increaſe of its ſubjects. Now our writer, ſpeaking of the number of thoſe who were *diſpoſſeſſed* out of the greater monaſteries only, com-
P. 218. putes them to amount to *ſome hundred thouſand*

thouſand perſons. Mr. *Dod* indeed is more moderate: he only ſays, "ſo many thou-"ſands."[1] And this being excluſive of the ſecular and parochial clergy: when they are reckoned, with thoſe belonging to the other *eſtabliſhments or leſſer tenements of the like import,* the number of thoſe prohibited from matrimony muſt amount to an amazing body of people; who were ſo far from contributing to the ſupport of the government, "that the kingdom itſelf from this "redundancy of its defenceleſs members, "might be ſo exhauſted of its ſtrength, "as to be incapable of protecting or ſe-"curing itſelf from inſurrections or inva-"ſions."[2] Tho' this is only a political inconvenience: yet if conſidered, even in a religious light, the very nature of theſe inſtitutions will be found as much unneceſſary to the promotion of true piety, as they were detrimental to the good of ſociety. P. 337.

It is eaſy to harangue upon the benefits of a retired, contemplative life, free from the cares, and detached from the love, of the world. But ſurely the man, who, in active and ſocial life, lets *his light ſhine before men*; diſplays the beauty and perfection of religion to nobler purpoſes, than when it is confined in the heart of a ſoli-

1 *Dod*, church hiſt. v. 1. p. 110.
2 *Candidus*, letter IX.

tary devotee: and the good husband, parent, master, and magistrate, is of more real benefit to the world by this exertion of his faculties; and is doing his duty to God, to greater advantage to others, to greater comfort to himself, and to greater honour to religion, than if he had hid his talent in the cloisters of a monastery, or the cave of an hermit. Such a man, by communicating his goodness, does more service to the cause of religion, than if a recluse piety had kept him employed in counting his beads, tormenting his body, and submitting to those absurd, ridiculous, and uncommanded observances, which belong not to religion. The freeing therefore such numbers from this constrained, formal, outward devotion, and obliging them to become useful and active members of society; and the demolishing such nurseries of idleness and spiritual servitude (however it might be accompanied, as before, with too many acts of personal rapine and injustice) were yet, in their consequences, beneficial to religion and the state; and may well be justified, upon the soundest principles of each.

The revenues which, by the piety or rather superstition of our ancestors, had been bestowed upon these communities, are urged, to enhance the guilt of their dissolution. We are told, that they were

conse-

conſecrations made to the Supreme Being, of a real and perpetual nature, and were, *as it were, veſted in him.* But perhaps it may be difficult to prove, that ſuch foundations were any otherwiſe conſecrated to religion, than alms-houſes and hoſpitals may be ſaid to be. If the inſtitution of the monaſtic ſtate did not advance the end of religion, its endowments could ſcarce be ſaid to be conſecrated to God. In ſome inſtances, we think, the monks themſelves were ſupported by continued acts of rapine and ſacrilege, when the income of the monaſtery conſiſted of impropriations; and the parochial clergy were by that means robbed of a maintenance, apparently more conſecrated to God, and *veſted in him*, than the advocates for the monks can pretend to allege in favour of their poſſeſſions. Surely, had the ſpiritual life been kept up by the ſpiritual ſtate, thoſe good ſouls would not have enriched themſelves at the expence of the church; and, out of their boundleſs generoſity and piety, have ſtarved the pariſh prieſt, by the ſcandalous pittance allotted for the ſervice of the cure. P. 218.

But the monks need not be envied: *their poſſeſſions*, it is ſaid, *did not exceed one twentieth part of the national revenue; a ſum much below what a deſign to deſtroy them, firſt gave out, and credulity has ſtill retained.* And were they really as low, as they are P. 214.

put here, the legiſlature might have ſufficient reaſons to extirpate ſuch obſtructions to religion, and ſuch nuiſances to ſociety. But the fact is not true: the eſtates, belonging to theſe religious houſes, were conſiderably larger, than the credulous Mr. *P.* is aware of. *Collier* himſelf owns, "that "the revenues of the abbies were ſome- "times undervalued by the viſitors; . . . "and therefore," ſays he, "in all likeli- "hood, upon rack rents and modern com- "putation, the lands would riſe to near "twenty times as much."[1] And Mr. *Stevens*, in his hiſtory of taxes, who ſeems to have conſidered this point with great accuracy, (whoſe calculation is ſuppoſed to be drawn from the laſt leaſes theſe houſes granted) has demonſtrated, that they poſſeſſed a much greater proportion to the national revenue, than Mr. *P.* thinks of.

"Their reſerved rents were indeed but "low, but the fines, which are here
P. 222. "dropped, and in another place called *eaſy*, "made up nine parts in ten of their in- "comes, and bore no inconſiderable ſhare "in their annual profits; the lands only "of two of the abbies are worth at this "time 500,000 *l.* a year; and if theſe e- "ſtates were worth, at the time of their "diſſolution, but a fourth part of what

[1] *Collier*, v. 2. p. 165.

they

" they are at preſent, yet the yearly value
" of only theſe two, would not fall much
" ſhort of what our author makes the in-
" come of the whole 700 amount to." [1]

But be this as it may be: their revenues, more or leſs, do not affect either the crime of their deſtroyers, or the merit of ſuch houſes. Their whole inſtitution was founded in fanaticiſm; and was encouraged to the hurt of the ſtate, by not only preventing amazing numbers of both ſexes from contributing (in a lawful and honourable way) to the increaſe of the community, but alſo by being a continual ſupply of factious, reſtleſs, and devoted zealots to the foreign power and influence of the biſhops of *Rome*; whom they looked upon, in our writer's language, as the *interpreters of* P. 218. *God's will, and* the *delegates of his power.*

We are informed, that *an act of parlia-* P. 217. *ment was framed, to remove ſcruples, and ſettle rapine and ſacrilege, as lord Herbert terms them, on the King and his heirs for*

1 *Candidus*, letter X, citing *Stevens's* hiſtory of taxes. Some compute, the lands taken from the monaſteries, at twenty years purchaſe, would amount at this preſent time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thouſand, four hundred pounds. Thoſe formerly belonging to the abbey of St. *Albans*, being worth at this day about 200,000 pounds a year, and thoſe that belonged to *Glaſtonbury* abbey above 300,000 pounds yearly. *Vid. Rapin*, v. 1. p. 823, note, from *Stevens's* hiſtory of taxes, p. 188---216.

ever.

ever. But where does his lordſhip ſay this? *Dod*,[1] and *Collier*,[2] did not authoriſe Mr. *P.* to ſpeak ſo peremptorily. They cite him honeſtly, as declaring only, " that ſome called " it rapine and ſacrilege, which," ſays he, " I will no way excuſe." But what does he ſay farther? Let him ſpeak for himſelf, and anſwer this objection of rapine and ſacrilege. " Though I may ſay truly, that " notwithſtanding ſo many religious houſes " were deſtroyed, there are yet in every " kind, (the ſuppreſſed ones excepted) left " ſtanding ſo many, as give no little in- " creaſe to learning, ſplendor to religion, " and teſtimony of charity to the poor. So " that altho' I cannot but pity the ruin of " them, as affording a ſingular conveniency " to an holy, pious, and contemplative " life, *when abuſes were taken away*, yet " . . . . . We are not deſtitute of many " monuments of devotion: of which alſo " our King had ſuch regard . . . for he " not only augmented the number of col- " leges and profeſſors in his univerſities, " but erected . . . out of the revenues got- " ten hereby, divers new biſhoprics . . . . " Beſides many of the cathedral churches, " formerly poſſeſſed by monks only, were " now ſupplied with canons, and new ones

1 Church hiſtory, v. 1. p. 114. Note.
2 Eccleſ. hiſt. v. 2. p. 165.

" enacted

" enacted and endowed . . . . So that re-
" ligion ſeemed not ſo much to ſuffer here-
" by, *as ſome of the clergy, of thoſe times and*
" *ours would have it believed:* our kingdom
" having, . . . inſtead of divers ſupernume-
" rary and idle perſons, maintained by ab-
" bies and chantries, men fit for employ-
" ment; ſo that the deſolations . . . are by
" our politicks thought amply recom-
" penſed."[1] So far is this noble hiſtorian from calling this diſſolution, *rapine and ſacrilege*, that he thinketh favourably of it; and that the very inſtitution of thoſe religious houſes was abundantly compenſated by others, of an infinitely more beneficial nature to church and ſtate.

But *thoſe fair reaſoners, the proteſtant* P. 219.
writers, have pleaded ſo honourably for theſe inſtitutions, that it ſeems, *the monks could not have done it with greater energy.* The monks would have done it but poorly then; and deſtroyed, by one argument, what they ſupported by another. And how have they defended them? They have conſidered theſe houſes as a proviſion for the younger children of great families, and as places for the education of youth of both ſexes. Now had there been, after this diſſolution, no poſſible way *of providing* P. 219.
for ſuch *younger children, and ſecuring the*

1 *Herbert*, p. 508.

perpetuity

perpetuity of the family eſtate, but by depriving them of the comforts of ſocial life, and forcing them into a monaſtery; the parliament would not have come ſo eaſily into *Henry's* ſcheme. But they might wiſely conſider, that their younger children were likely to do much better in the world, when a turn was given them for buſineſs and action; and that the army, the court, and the law, might give them opportunities of raiſing a fortune, which might in time perhaps equal, if not exceed that, which belonged to the elder branch of the family. And if *they were diſpoſed to retire from the world*, there was the church ſtill ready to receive them: and the power and influence of their friends might procure them good
P. 219. preferments, *and an eſtabliſhment for life ſuited to the rank their family held.*

The abbies, it is alſo urged in their favour, *were public ſchools for education:* but this was foreign to their inſtitution, and therefore ſhould not be named amongſt the neceſſary advantages of them. But how little of uſeful knowledge could be acquired in theſe kinds of *ſchools*, we learn from the moſt unexceptionable authority, from the teſtimony of *Eraſmus*, that beſt judge of literary merit and improvement: from him we are informed, that, not the learned languages, but the quibbles of ſcholaſtic divinity, were ſolely cultivated by the monaſtic

monaſtic preceptors.[1] However, to remedy any inconvenience or complaint, that might ariſe from this quarter, there were a great number of free-ſchools founded in many places of the kingdom, within the compaſs of a few years, both by royal and private benefactors. And the nation reaped inconceivable advantage from that manly and ſpirited turn, which a freer intercourſe in public life afforded the youth of it; and from that ſtore of real and polite literature cultivated, not by the monks, but by the penetrating genius of thoſe ſuperiour minds, whoſe amazing abilities, and extenſive erudition (engaged in the improvement of every branch of true ſcience and philoſophy) opened thoſe treaſures, which the monks were utterly ignorant of; and, for fear of being counted heretics, dared not even attempt to attain unto. It was this liberal and enlarged way of thinking, which ſo inſenſibly promoted the reformation, and expoſed the former plan of education.

[1] *In his* (ſc. monaſteriis) *adoleſcentes, vix trimeſtri ſtudio grammaticæ dato, protinus rapiuntur, ad ſophiſticen, dialecticen, ſuppoſitiones, ampliationes, reſtrictiones, expoſitiones, reſolutiones ad gryphos, & quæſtionum labyrinthos, hinc recta in adyta theologiæ. Tales, ubi ventum eſt ad eos autores qui utriuſque linguæ facundia præcelluerunt, Deum immortalem! ut cœcutiunt, ut delirant, ut ſibi videntur in alio prorſus eſſe mundo.*

Eraſ. dial. de pronunciatione, p. 770. v. 1. *ed. Baſil.*

The

P. 220. The ſervice the monaſteries were of *in promoting a general literary improvement*,
P. 222. in preſerving records, and being the *repoſitories of learning*, is another plea in their behalf. This is ſaying but little for them: the houſes might be receptacles of learning, whilſt the inhabitants neglected it, *or underſtood nothing of* the *value* of what their *repoſitories* contained. *Eraſmus*, who knew them well, has told a tale, which ſhould make the advocates of the monks bluſh, when they preſume to talk, in this manner, of their *promoting a general literary improvement*.[1] It would be ſtrange indeed, if, amongſt ſuch numbers, many did not make good uſe of the advantages of retirement and books. But did learning ſink with the diſſolution of the abbies? and have not ſucceeding times produced thoſe, and in much greater numbers, who have done honour to themſelves and their country by their writings, though not brought up in a cloiſter?

So fatal, however, was the fall of theſe houſes to literature, that we are further

1 *Latitant in collegiis ac monaſteriis Germanorum, Gallorum, & Anglorum, pervetuſti codices; quos, exceptis paucis, adeo non communicant ultro, ut rogati vel celent, vel pernegent, vel iniquo pretio vendunt, uſum decuplo æſtimatorum codicum: tandem pulchre ſervatos, vel caries tineæque corrumpunt, vel fures auferunt.*

Eraſ. ep. edit. 1542, p. 355. cited in *Knight's* life of *Colet*, p. 25.

told,

told, from the *Oxford* hiſtorian, that, *where-* P. 220.
as there were, in thoſe times, near 300 *halls and private ſchools in Oxford, beſides the colleges, there were not above eight remaining towards the middle of the laſt century.*[1] But *Wood* does not mean, there were ſo many remaining at the diſſolution of the monaſteries; for long before that time, they had been loſt and ſwallowed up in colleges, many of which were built upon the very ſcite of theſe halls. And what theſe were, he tells us in another part of the ſame book, that they were neither more nor leſs, *than lodging-houſes hired by the ſtudents.*[2] *Brian Twyne*, an abler man, and a better antiquarian, than Mr. *Wood*, ſays the ſame thing: he reduces them to 200; and enumerates about 180 of them, deſcribing where they were ſituated, and in what colleges they were abſorbed.[2] For when the latter were built and increaſed, the ſcholars had no occaſion to lodge in townſmens houſes: though it is true, that the ruin of the monaſteries did greatly leſſen

1 *Atque hæc* (ſc. aulæ) *ſane . . . uti & priſca quævis noſtra muſarum habitacula, tenementa primitus oppidanorum erant, pretio annuo academicis elocata. Wood hiſt. & antiq. Oxon.* L. 2. p. 338.

2 *Aulæ, revera ædes erant burgenſium certo pretio conductæ. Antiq. acad. Oxon. Apologia.* L. 3. p. 381 *De antiquis aulis & ſtudentium collegiis.* — And the Appendix throughout.

the

the number of ſtudents, and obliged many
P. 220. to *apply their time and induſtry, to what would be more to their advantage*, and the benefit of the ſtate. The univerſities had been then, for a long time, upon the ſame footing they have continued ever ſince: and it does not appear, that any one ſecular college or hall (many of the latter being little better than grammar ſchools) ſhared any part of that ruin, which befel the religious houſes. "So far was the King," ſays *Collier*, "from leſſening thoſe famous "ſeminaries of piety and learning, that he "rather promoted their intereſts."[1]

From this imaginary loſs to literature,
P. xx. Mr. *P.* takes occaſion *to trace out* (what he calls in his table of contents) *the ſtate of learning* from this period *to the reign of Charles the ſecond*. It is difficult to ſay, what could occaſion the digreſſion of this paragraph. Certain it is, the promoters of the reformation, in our kingdom, were, for the moſt part, perſons of aſtoniſhing erudition: their knowledge indeed lay more in the original language of the SS, in the earlieſt writers of the church, and in cultivating the powers of reaſon and philoſophy, than in St. *Thomas*, and the decretals. Many of them alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a politer way, the knowledge

1 *Collier*, eccleſ. hiſt. v. 2. p. 209.

of

of the claſſics and *belles-lettres*; and their writings are as pure as any of the *Auguſtan age:* whilſt not a few of their opponents, diſdaining theſe advantages, reſted ſatisfied with the jargon of ſcholaſtic divinity, and the gloſſes of their modern doctors. But never, ſurely, was ſo unfortunate and improper an epithet, as *quaint conceits*, ap- P. 221. plied before, for the general character or criterion of learning in Queen *Elizabeth's* days: that *epoch* (to borrow a favourite P. 221. word from our author) *was marked*, in a very conſpicuous manner, by a long liſt of heroes, in every ſenſe of the word, whoſe deep learning, ſolid ſenſe, manly genius, and the exertion of every active faculty, raiſed the glory and reputation of the kingdom to an height unknown before; whilſt *quaint conceits*, and puns, diſtinguiſhed the *pedant reign* of the ſucceeding prince.

After this little ſpurt of criticiſm, the cauſe of the monks is again taken in hand; and we are confidently told, that, *while* P. 223. *the religious houſes ſubſiſted, there were no proviſions made by parliament to relieve the poor, no aſſeſſment on the pariſh for that purpoſe; but, at preſent, this charge on the kingdom, amounts, by a low computation, to above* 800,000 *pounds*. If it did ſo in *Collier's* time, who is the original author of all this intelligence, it muſt riſe to a much greater amount now. But what

if this be a vague and falſe aſſertion? There is great reaſon to ſuſpect, that theſe houſes were not ſo munificent. We have before obſerved, that one motive alleged, at the diſſolution of the alien priories, was, *that the poor might be better maintained*; and there were, moreover, ſeveral particular *acts of parliament* paſſed for the relief of the poor, at different times,[1] to oblige theſe very houſes to aid the poor in proportion to their income: from whence it is eaſy and natural to conjecture, that they were not ſo liberal and bountiful of their alms, as Mr. *P.* and his informants, would perſuade us. So that, as *Candidus* well and truly obſerves, "the nation neither got "nor loſt any thing, in this reſpect, by "the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, only "the mendicant trade was reduced, in-"duſtry encouraged, the poor better pro-"vided for, and the nation more equally "taxed."[2]

P. 223, 224. *On theſe conſiderations*, proceedeth our author, *one of our hiſtorians aſſerts, that it would be but an act of common juſtice, to give the generality of proteſtants a more favourable opinion of monaſteries.* Upon what conſiderations? the hoſpitality and charity

1 *Viz.* 15 *Richard* the 2d. 4 *Henry* the 4th. 39 *Henry* the 6th, and two or three in *Henry* the 7th's reign, mentioned by *Candidus*, letter XII.

2 Letter XII.

of

of theſe houſes; for that he is ſpeaking of, in this paragraph, and hath referred us, to prove this, to a place in *Fuller*,[1] where he is lamenting the plunder and the waſte made of their books; which our author backeth by a corroborating evidence, as he thinketh, from biſhop *Tanner's* preface to his *Notitia Monaſtica*, wherein his chief purport is to ſhew, that monaſteries were the repoſitories of learning; neither of them, in the places appealed to, touching upon the charity of theſe houſes: nor did Mr. *Dod* cite them for that purpoſe: but Mr. *P's* accurate eye caught them in the ſame page, and he was determined they ſhould vouch as he wanted them.

In one reſpect, it was prudent he did not conſult *Tanner* himſelf; he would hardly have quoted him with ſuch eagerneſs elſe: for though it was to be expected from one who was writing the account of religious houſes, to ſay, with other antiquarians, every thing he could honeſtly in their favour, yet he owns, " that theſe inſti-
" tutions were abuſed from their original
" foundation, and that he did not in the
" leaſt intend to vindicate the ſuperſtitions
" and the vices of the monks:" and then addeth, immediately after the paſſage produced by our author, this reflection; " and

1 *Fuller*, eccleſ. hiſt. b. 6. p. 335.

" indeed conſidering the proviſions that " are made in the univerſities, for the en- " couragement and attainment of learn- " ing; and the many hoſpitals, that have " been built ſince the reformation, for the " relief of the poor, there is leſs reaſon to " lament their loſs." [1] This is *Tanner's* teſtimony.

But now our writer takes a bolder flight:
P. 224. and national and perſonal *calamities* are exhibited, *as ſo many indications of a provoked and avenging God.* What the national calamities were *which trod on the heels of this iniquity*, we are at a loſs to know; for Mr. *P.* will hardly reckon the cruel tyranny of Queen *Mary's* reign as any misfortune to the kingdom. *Fuller*, the authority appealed to, ſays nothing like it; he ſays " ſome conceive — yea papiſts would " perſuade us, that ſuch poſſeſſions are un- " ſucceſsful, and will ruin their proprietors, " till reſtored to their proper owners: for " mine own part," ſays he, — " I wiſh to " all lawfully poſſeſſed of them, that they " may peaceably and proſperouſly enjoy " them, *et nati natorum, et qui naſcuntur* " *ab illis.*" [2] As to *Spelman's* obſervation, it is unfair to confine the judgments of God to one county, when the whole

1 Preface to the *Notitia Monaſtica*, p. 3. 1ſt ed. 8*vo*.
2 *Fuller*, church hiſt. b. 6. p. 370.

kingdom

kingdom was equally involved in the ſame guilt. Did theſe eſtates alone ſubject their purchaſers to the divine diſpleaſure, and no others go from one family to another, there would be more probability in the conjecture. The curſes of the *Romiſh* church, for this pretended ſacrilege, took no effect: ſome of the abbey lands continue to this day in the ſame families, who purchaſed, or obtained them at the firſt; and thoſe, who have been later proprietors of them have been no more ſufferers than their former owners.

The day, alſo, *which gave commencement* P. 224.
to this crime was thought ominous. How ſo? why, it ſeems, ſome weak and ſuperſtitious perſons, 100 years after, wanted a parliament ſummoned to meet, in *Charles* the Iſt's time, upon the 3d of *November*, to be *adjourned for a ſhort time, it being the* P. 224.
ſame day on which the legiſlature, in Henry the VIII*th's reign, began the diſſolution of religious houſes.*[1] There is no accounting for the whims of ſome people; but whoever gave this reaſon for the adjournment of the long parliament, ſufficiently ſhewed their folly, and their ignorance too; for the parliament, which *began the diſſolution of religious houſes*, met in the month of

1 This piece of intelligence, *Echard* (whoſe authority is here produced for it) learnt from *Heylin's* life of archbiſhop *Laud*, p. 458. Ed. 1668.

February.[1] Two years indeed before that, there was a parliament, which began on that *ominous day, the 3d. of November*; wherein the Pope's authority was abrogated, and the ſupremacy of the crown eſtabliſhed.[2] And from this day, ſays Mr. *P.*

P. 224. *the church of England dates her misfortunes.* The church was, we grant, afflicted during

P. 221, 222. *the madneſs of the civil wars, and the fanaticiſm of the commonwealth*; but when order and law were reſtored, ſhe likewiſe got over her misfortunes, and recovered her juſt rights: and her ſons can now reflect, with pleaſure, upon the 3d. of *November*, on which day they were reſcued from an intolerable ſpiritual bondage. They deem it as auſpicious to them, as the 5th of the ſame month; and both, as equally *ominous* to the church of *Rome*.

P. 224. Add to all this, the avenging *anger of heaven*, which was exerciſed in the many attainders and executions which followed this fall of the monaſteries. If this be the method or rule of conſtruing God's judgments, what muſt we think of the houſe of *Pole* itſelf, and many others of the ſame principles, who oppoſed this diſſolution, and yet fell by the hands of the executioner? "So that our author here gives a fair op-

1 *Stowe's* annals, p. 572.
2 Ibid. p. 571.

portunity

" portunity of retaliating judgments upon " them for this oppoſition :"[1] and the proof will be equally ſtriking. This it is, when zealots take upon them to account for the diſpenſations of providence: the ſuperſtitious, and the credulous, may give way to ſuch weakneſſes; but others will reject, with horror and diſdain, ſuch profane, wanton and arbitrary interpretations of the divine interpoſition.

Thus much concerning the diſſolution of theſe great excreſcencies in church and ſtate, the vaſt number of religious houſes. There had been examples of this kind before,[2] and of ſuch revenues being applied to other uſes: which muſt leſſen the odium of their preſent ſuppreſſion. If hiſtory is to be credited, the chief of the reformers (excepting *Cromwell*) were againſt it; tried what they could to prevent its being general, or at leaſt to convert the revenues to a leſs exceptionable mode of charity, and to make them real and national benefits. *Anne Bullen's* intereſt was ſinking, and could avail little. " She, we are told, was " altogether averſe to this ſuppreſſion, and " put *Hugh Latimer* upon preaching a- " gainſt it before the King. She likewiſe

1 *Candidus*, letter XXII.

2 Many inſtances of this occur in *Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica*, and in the *Monaſticon Hibernicum*.

" cautioned others of the clergy not to " declaim againſt the monaſteries, and " preach down the inſtitution."[1] And after her deceaſe, what ſignifyed the remonſtrances that *Cranmer*, and the other biſhops of his party, made againſt it.[2] It was the popiſh party, which carried this point; and the guilt of theſe actions, inſtead of being laid to the charge of the men of the *new religion*, as it was falſely called, ſhould fall upon thoſe of the *Romiſh perſuaſion*, who were the more immediate inſtruments of this diſſolution. The commiſſioners, except perhaps one or two, were all good catholics; and continued ſtill, as well as their ſovereign, members of the *Romiſh* church, except in the article of the Pope's ſupremacy. Thus were theſe houſes demoliſhed by a popiſh King, and popiſh commiſſioners; and a popiſh parliament, with popiſh biſhops conſenting, gave a legal ſanction to their proceedings.

But no devaſtations are more bemoaned by our author, than the monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*, and the ſhrine of St. *Thomas a Becket* at *Canterbury*; the former ſhared (ſaith *Somner*) the common fate of the other religious houſes; " whoſe uncovered walls

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 117.

2 V. 2. p. 164. citing *Strype's* life of *Cranmer*, p. 72.

" ſtood

" ſtood ſo long languiſhing in time, and " ſtorms of weather, that daily increaſed " the aſpect of her ruins."[1] Unluckily, this does not tally well with that ſmart obſervation, which Mr. *P.* has pilfered from his own hero, that *the incloſure was laid waſte, and appropriated to wild beaſts; and a palace raiſed out of the ruins, for ſomething ſtill more ſavage, himſelf.*[2] Now, not to mention, that *Pole* was often impoſed upon in his intelligence of *Engliſh* affairs; his biographer, however, as the cardinal was not often given to pleaſantry, ſhould not have deprived him of his claim to a ſmall joke, eſpecially as it was more witty than true; for *Somner*, who wrote the antiquities of *Canterbury*, omits theſe particulars; though ſome pages[3] are employed in deſcribing the ruins and remains of this abbey, " which are now," ſays he, " made " ſubject to other public uſes." P. 226.

As to the ſhrine of St. *Auſtin*, it had been ſo long obſcured by the greater ſplendour of *Becket's*, that its virtues, and its riches, were nothing in compariſon of the

1 *Somner's* antiquities of *Canterbury*, p. 60. 1ſt. ed. 4*to*. 1640.

2 — *Sibi, & feris domicilium eſſe voluit, ſic enim juſſerat vivarium illic fieri, & ſibi ex ruinis monaſterii palatium ædificari. Poli apologia ad Cæſarem. Sect.* xxiv. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 109.

3 *Antiq. Cant.* p. 60——63.

other.

other. The ſuperſtition and the prodigality of the pilgrims centered there, which engroſſed not only all their folly, but all their chriſtianity too; and the church wherein it was, though dedicated to Chriſt, was forced, through the deplorable bigotry of the devotees, to give place to the name of St. *Thomas*; whoſe altar was loaded with offerings, whilſt that of Chriſt was empty, and had nothing given it.[1] So much had ignorance and credulity excluded every degree of true ſpiritual piety!

The unſhrining and unſainting *Thomas a Becket* is aggravated as a moſt inhuman and unpardonable offence, in *Henry*. I wonder much, the ſuperſtition of our writer did not make the loſs of *the iſland of Rhodes*, which, he ſays, *happened about the ſame time*, owing to this ſin; for he ſeems, by what he ſays, not to know well when the *Turks* took that place. Could he think of no nearer event, than this, to contraſt with *Henry's* rapine and impiety, which happened no leſs than 16 years before it? Or would *Pole's noſtra ætate, paucis ante annis*,[2] juſtify him in rendering it, *about the ſame time*, when there was an interval of ſo many years between them? The

P. 227.

1 P. 248.

2 *Poli apologia ad Cæſarem*, Sect. 23. *Quirini*, v. 1. p. 104. & v. 2. p. CLIII.

cardinal,

cardinal, in the vehemence of his zeal, aſks, where *Henry* could have learnt this practice of behaving thus to ſaints departed? and anſwers himſelf, by ſaying, from that cruel tyrant *Herod*, who is ſuppoſed to have burnt *John the Baptiſt's* bones in the ſame manner as *Henry* did *Becket's*. But this is not clear. And the pious *Pole* needed not to have gone quite ſo far back: for *Henry* learnt it from the clergy of his own church; from the council of *Albium*, (*Albienſe*) who ordered dead heretics to be ſo ſerved; and from the council of *Conſtance*, who put that canon in execution, in their condemnation of *Wicliff*; and, lower ſtill, from the chancellor of *Worceſter*, who, by order of his ſuperiors, had taken up and burnt the dead body of Mr. *Tracy*, not above 5 or 6 years before ſaint *Becket's* aſhes were diſturbed. But notwithſtanding *Pole* rages, in his apology to the Emperor, and elſewhere, againſt *Henry's* impiety and inhumanity; yet he ſtrangely altered his ſentiments, when he came into power himſelf; and choſe to follow *Henry's* example, rather than that of the *Turks*; for (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) he exerciſed, without fear or ſhame, the very ſame barbarous inſults upon the bodies of ſome departed worthies, who, we think, were better ſaints than *Becket*.

The character of this prelate is here exhibited as an illuſtrious *ſaint, martyr, and* P. 227. *patriot*:

patriot: and his life and actions ſhew that he merited theſe characters alike. He was a ſaint from the womb; and uſhered into the world as other ſaints uſually are, with ſigns and wonders. *Fitz-Stephens*, one of the earlieſt writers of his life, tells us, that God revealed to his mother the greatneſs he had predeſtinated him to, who dreamed in her pregnancy, that ſhe contained a whole cathedral within her womb: and when he was born, the midwife declared, ſhe had lifted up an archbiſhop from the ground. And again, whilſt he lay in the cradle, his mother dreamt ſhe told the nurſe, he had no quilt or coverlid; the nurſe inſiſted upon it he had, but it was ſo large ſhe could not open it, either in the bed-chamber, the hall, or the ſtreet; in ſhort, it was of ſuch a ſize, ſhe could not find the end of it, but it ſeemed to cover more than all *England*.' Theſe were omens of his future ſtation and ſanctity, which could not be gainſayed.

The occaſion of the quarrel between *Becket* and his ſovereign, *Henry* II. is well known. There were indeed ſome ſmaller ruptures which happened before the great breach, and had already inflamed them againſt each other. The King wanted to make the clergy amenable to the ſame laws

1 *Fitz-Stephens's* life of *Becket*, p. 10. publiſhed among *Sparke's Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ ſcriptores varii*, fol. 1723.

for

for capital offences, as the laity; the archbiſhop inſiſted upon their privilege of being tried in their own courts, and in caſe of conviction to be degraded, and deprived of their benefices; and then, upon a relapſe, (but not before) or freſh breach of the laws, to be tried before the civil magiſtrate.[1] By this means great enormities had been committed by thoſe, whom the laws could not reach: and the King was informed, that above an hundred of his ſubjects had been lately murdered by theſe lawleſs clerks;[2] and was offended to find, they had been too favourably dealt with in their own courts.

Fitz-Stephens owns, the two following actions ſet the King and the archbiſhop at variance. A clergyman, in the dioceſe of *Worceſter*, had lain with a young woman, and killed her father. The King would have had the offender tried in his courts: the archbiſhop refuſed it; and, to prevent his being delivered to the King's officers, ordered his biſhop to impriſon him. Another clerk had ſtollen a ſilver chalice. Him likewiſe the King was deſirous to have tried in the civil courts; but the archbiſhop degraded him in his; and, *ex abundanti*, to appeaſe the King, burnt him with an hot iron.[3] Theſe were ſurely very in-

1 *Hoveden*, p. 282.
2 *Gul. Newbrig*, l. 2. c. 16.
3 *W. a Stephanide*, p. 33.

decent

decent provocations, which thus ſtopped the exerciſe of impartial juſtice.

Not content with this, the archbiſhop went farther, and took every opportunity to irritate the King, and to puſh matters to the utmoſt extremity, ſaying and unſaying, ſometimes promiſing to give the King ſatisfaction, then retracting it, till, by his perverſe obſtinacy, he had wearied every body out. His brother biſhops, many of them, thoroughly deteſted his violent behaviour: and even the Pope endeavoured, or pretended to endeavour, but in vain, to ſoften his furious ſpirit, and conciliate matters.

How *Becket*, who carried himſelf with ſuch effrontery to his King, could be called
P. 227. the *guardian of the liberties of his country*, in refuſing to obey the laws of it, is what Mr. *P.* has forgot to prove, any more than that thoſe exemptions, or *immunities* of the clergy from the civil power, *made no leſs a part of our conſtitution, than any others contained in the great charter.* We have already taken notice of the ſteady oppoſition ever made to papal encroachments, and of *Becket's* reprimand to the biſhop of *Chicheſter*, for exalting that authority.[2] The King, after this, could not but be aſtoniſh-

1 See the life and epiſtles of *Becket*, publiſhed by *Heribert*, at *Bruſſels*, 2 vol. 4*to*. 1682.

2 P. 116.

ed

ed, to find that he had changed his principles with his posts. When *the constitutions* (as they are commonly called) of *Clarendon*, wherein the ancient rights and customs of the crown were to be acknowledged, "which had not yet been committed to writing, being known only by "common practice, and usage immemorial, and it was thought proper to specify some of them, to prevent any future dispute upon the subject:"[1] the archbishop alone refused to sign them. And what made this the more provoking was, that, not long before, at *Woodstock*, he had promised the King (chiefly at the instance of the legate, whom the Pope, and the college of cardinals, had sent into *England* to order him to do it[2]) "faithfully and "sincerely, without any prevarication, to "observe them." Repenting, however, of this promise, when he came to *Clarendon*, he flew back: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that he was at last persuaded to swear, that he would observe the laws of the kingdom, and the customs, which the King said were used in his grandfather's time. But when they were drawn up in writing, he absolutely refused to put his seal to, or confirm them.[3] And when one

1 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 585.

2 *Hoveden*, p. 282. *inter scriptores post Bedam, ed. Savil.*

3 *Id. ibid.*

of

of the indented copies of the conſtitutions was delivered into his cuſtody, he could not refrain from affronting the King in ſo groſs a manner, that he never could recover his favour any more.'

What great offence this haughty deportment muſt give the King and his council, it is eaſy to imagine. But he was defending the rights of the church, truly! as if that could be done no other way, but by protecting criminals from puniſhments adequate to their offence, and by trampling on the rights of the crown. Granting, however, that he might have ſome ſcruples againſt receiving *the conſtitutions of Clarendon*, as imagining, that the Pope's power, and the clergy's privilege, might be infringed by them; though theſe very exemptions, or privileges, were not inſeparable from their order, but originally flowed from, and were granted to them by the crown: [2] yet what ſhall we ſay to his behaviour the next year, when he was ſummoned before the King and council at *Northampton*, upon a merely civil account. His outrageous paſſions broke out there afreſh: and he was not aſhamed to plead the privilege of his order and dignity, to prevent the payment of his juſt debts.[3] And

1 *Id. ibid.*

2 *Collier*, eccl. hiſt. v. 1. p. 374.

3 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 590, and p. 606. *W. de Steph.* p. 43.

to

to hinder any ſentence being pronounced againſt him, he prohibited the biſhops from being his judges; and, with every mark of inſolence and vanity, preſumed, in direct violation of the laws of the land, to appeal to the Pope in a civil cauſe. The parliament, reſenting this contempt of the laws, declared him guilty of perjury and treaſon. His pride not permitting him to hear his ſentence, the people, as he paſſed through the hall, ſenſible of the juſtice of it, hiſſed him, calling him traitor, and bad him ſtay and hear his ſentence;[1] "reproaches which he retorted "upon ſome perſons of diſtinction, by call-"ing them *liars*, *baſtards*, and *ſcoundrels*. "This intemperate language," as *Carte* obſerves, "was not very ſuitable either to the "character of an archbiſhop, the humility of "a chriſtian, or the patient temper and ſpi-"rit of a confeſſor."[2]

The King plainly appears, in all his actions, to have deſired the good of the ſtate, and the equal diſtribution of juſtice. The archbiſhop, whoſe religion ſhould have taught him to have ſeconded theſe good inclinations of his ſovereign, was *the man alone* who hindered them from taking effect: and his reſentments ever continuing ſtrong, he wrote to the King, and to others, in his exile, *ſuch letters*, as are laſting and clear evidences, not of his *piety* or *humility*, but of his *pride*, *inſo-*

1 *Hoveden*, p. 283. 2 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 593, 594.

lence, and *revenge*: and he exerted these violent passions agreeably to the fury of his temper, in endeavouring to set the King of *France*, and his own King, at variance; and in fomenting the petulant resentment of a schismatical antipope,[1] like himself, by his own frowardness persecuted, and banished from home.

Afterwards, when through the wearied good-nature of *Henry*, a reconciliation was proposed and agreed to between him and *Becket*, the latter behaved, at the interview, with such haughtiness and insolence, as disgusted his own friends: and when the King, willing to forget and forgive all former feuds, "freely extended his grace to the clergy who "had followed the archbishop in his exile;"[2] the haughty prelate, instead of shewing, on his part, the same peaceable inclinations to the King's adherents, refused to make any such promise. And when he returned into *England*, he came with a mind agitated with the most diabolical passions: and to shew his implacable resentment, and that he was determined to gratify his own furious vehemence, he brought over with him the Pope's excommunication of some refractory bishops: and to display the inflexible severity of his disposition, he could find no better time or opportunity, than himself in person, and in his own cathedral, and upon *Christmas* day,

1 *Alex.* 3. 2 *Carte*, v. 1. p. 625.

solemnly

ſolemnly to excommunicate ſeveral perſons for trivial offences.[1]

Theſe were indications that his malice, his pride, and his luſt of power, were boundleſs; and that he would drive on as furiouſly as ever. But his murderers ſtopped his career; and, though good ought not to be brought about by evil, delivered their country, tho' by a moſt unjuſtifiable act, from the man who was the author of its troubles and diſſentions. Thus did his turbulent, ſeditious, revengeful ſpirit, raiſe him up enemies of as bad a temper as his own; who carried their reſentment to ſuch outrageous and indefenſible lengths, as to perpetrate his murder, in an horrid and barbarous manner. And tho' we join heartily with thoſe, who deteſt the bloody deed; yet, we declare, we ſee nothing either in his life or death, to deſerve the title of ſaint. We look upon him as a man, driven on, in all his actions, by the impetuoſity of his paſſions, to the moſt offenſive and ſcandalous exceſſes; and that he died, not in defence of Chriſt, or his religion, but from an obſtinate ſtiffneſs to ſcreen offenders from the laws of the land, which he called, pleading for the laws of God, that is to ſay, for the tyranny of eccleſiaſtics, and the uſurpations of the Pope. He was therefore not a martyr for Chriſt, but for the Pope's power.

1 *W. a Steph.* p. 80. *Hoveden*, p. 298. *Carte*, v. 1. p. 630.

And accordingly, ſome of his moſt zealous advocates, as if conſcious of the weakneſs of his pretenſions to it, contend for his ſainthood upon this account. Thus *Stapleton* ſays frankly enough, "that it is no more abſurd for the Pope to declare him a martyr, "who dies for aſſerting his authority, than if "he had been killed for the chriſtian faith."[1] Nay ſo meritorious is this, that, a little after, he adds, "that the cauſe of this martyrdom "was ſuch, as to intitle a man to the name "and character of a ſaint, even though attended with no preceding ſanctity of "life."[2]

From the moſt diſpaſſionate view of *Becket's* life and actions, we ſee little of the ſpiritual, but a great deal of the carnal man; and much more of the ſinner, than the ſaint. We do not therefore envy the *Romiſh* church, the honour of having ſuch kind of ſaints and martyrs; whoſe merit, to intitle them to thoſe venerable appellations, conſiſted chiefly in the unreſtrained exerciſe of ſuch violent and unregenerate paſſions, as are equally a reproach to humanity, and the goſpel.

1 *Neque enim certe magis abſurdum eſt a Romano Pontifice martyrem pronunciari, qui pro authoritate Pontificia aſſerenda occubuit, quam qui pro fide chriſtiana occiſus fuerit.* *Tres Thomæ*, p. 53. *ed.* 8vo. *Coloniæ*, 1612.

2 *Quanquam & martyrii cauſa talis eſt, ut ſi nulla vitæ ſanctitas præceſſiſſet, ſola tamen ad ſancti nomen ac rem adipiſcendam ſufficiat.* *Ibid.* p. 54.

As

As this holy ſaint was introduced into the world by viſions and miracles; ſo was his *exit*, in like manner, diſtinguiſhed by them. His approaching martyrdom was revealed to himſelf by a voice from heaven, not long before he returned from his baniſhment.[1] And as ſoon as he was dead, it was abundantly notified. A prieſt ſaw, in a dream, a biſhop in his epiſcopal robes, in the body of the ſun. A woman ſaw the moon fall from heaven, and cut in pieces by ſwords.[2] The very day his paſſion happened, it was revealed by the Holy Ghoſt to *Goodrick* the hermit, who lived 160 miles from *Canterbury*. And as ſoon as the monks had performed his obſequies, his wonder-working power commenced: for whilſt his body lay upon the bier, he lifted up his right hand, and gave the bleſſing.[3] This laſt circumſtance the archbiſhop of *Sens* informed the Pope of; adding, moreover, that he had appeared unto many, aſſuring them, that he was not dead but alive, and had ſhewed them, not his wounds, but only the ſcars of wounds. He told his Holineſs alſo, that a blind man, by anointing his eyes with the ſaint's warm blood, had received his ſight; and that he had lighted himſelf the wax candles, which

1 *Hoveden*, p. 297. See his own account of our Lady, in a viſion informing him of this and other particulars, cited, from the lieger book of the abbey of *Whalley* in *Lancaſhire*, in *Weever's* funeral monuments, p. 200.

2 *W. a Steph.* p. 90. 3 *Hoveden*, p. 299.

were round his dead body, when they had been put out.[1]

But these were only the beginning of wonders. The several writers of his story seem to think, there was no better way to raise his fame, than by dwelling upon the marvelous; and have accordingly feigned such an heap of miracles, as are an insult to religion, a shame to decency,[2] and an affront to common sense. We read of such reputed sanctity of his shrine at *Canterbury*, where his body was interred; of such immense offerings, and such superstitious profaneness exhibited at that place, as cannot but make us ashamed of our forefathers folly and credulity. Neither was this all. So great virtue and power could not be confined to one spot: and *Stapleton* has produced a rare list of special miracles, performed in a monastery of St. *Martin*, or St. *Just* in the grove, in *Artois*; where the monks had got the rochet he had on the very day of his martyrdom, and part of his hair-shirt, both so sprinkled with his sacred blood, that no washing could get it out. They likewise had a piece of his dalmatic, his pluvial or cope, and his shirt.[3] These rags or relics, we are told, greatly exceeded, in their wonder-working power,

1 *Ibid.* p. 300.

2 *Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ, authore monacho quodam Cantuar.* cited in *Fox's* martyrs, v. 1. p. 293. and in Reflections on the devotions of the *Roman* church, p. 227.

3 *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 108.

those

thoſe which remained with the body at *Canterbury*.[1]

It would be trifling to mention vulgar miracles, ſuch as, the curing all manner of ſickneſſes and diſeaſes, making up of differences, and the raiſing of the dead. So conſtant a practice this of every ſaint, that the greateſt wonder of all is, how any of their votaries ever happened to die. Such kinds of wonders every quack ſaint could operate: but thoſe of the firſt magnitude muſt be more diſtinguiſhed. He, whoſe cup of water, when taſted, was found rich and ſweet wine[2]; he, to whom his miſtreſs, the virgin *Mary*, gave a new garment, and mended his torn hair ſhirt; and he, whoſe fowl, upon a faſting-day, was turned into a carp[3]; muſt have amazing communications of ſupernatural influences imparted to him; and his ſanctity *cannot be conteſted:* for he continued to work miracles with the ſame ſpirit with which he began. *Benedict*, the abbot of *Peterborough*, in about twenty years after *Becket's* death, filled five volumes with the hiſtory of them[4]. Such a martyr, and ſo much merit, could as eaſily work miracles abroad, as at home; for, as he

1 *Id.* p. 110. 2 *Hoveden*, p. 298.

3 *Gononi Chronicon SS. Deiparæ*, p. 177. *Ibid.* p. 176, and *Wickman's Sabbatiſmus Marianus*, p. 73, cited in Reflections on the devotions of the *Roman* church, p. 220, and p. 221.

4 *Rob. Swapham cœnobii Burgenſis hiſtoria*, p. 99. in *Sparke's ſcriptores varii, &c.*

ſuffered more than any other apoſtle or martyr, ſo, it is ſaid, his miracles exceeded thoſe of any other ſaint[1]. To remove the prejudices of the reader *in theſe days of refinement*, (p. 226) we will preſent him, by way of ſpecimen, with one *circumſtantial* and inconteſtible proof out of many, *and related with ſuch ingenuous plainneſs, that* it muſt *gain univerſal credit and approbation.* A miracle it is of a very extraordinary nature; and performed, not by the dead body at home, (for the *wonders*, wrought at the ſhrine at *Canterbury, were ſo frequent, and ſo well atteſted*; (p. 227) that my author was above producing proofs, of what could *not be conteſted*;) but at a diſtance, at the convent of St. *Martin's* in *Artois*, which had happily got the relics or rags above named, which partook of the efficacy of that heavenly power derived to them, from that body, which they once covered; and were attended with the ſame almighty charms.

A certain noble lady, having miſcarried of a dead and imperfect fœtus, was ſo affected by it, that ſhe cried to St. *Thomas*, not to ſuffer the ſoul of her poor abortive fœtus to go *ad limbum inferorum*; and earneſtly beſought him, to put life into it. One of her favourite women ſervants, hearing this, took a wax ſtatue of the ſame weight with the abortive lump, to the holy relics; and whilſt

1 *W. a Steph.* p. 91. *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 53.

ſhe

ſhe was praying to them, offering the gifts, and reaching out the ſtatue, immediately the abortive fœtus, which was in the arms of the midwife at home, received life; moved its lips, and eyes, and eyebrows: and, moreover, ſo perfect were all its members, that no defect or ſpot whatſoever appeared. The grateful mother ſent her enlivened ſon to the convent to be baptiſed there; and intreated the abbot that he would be his godfather: who, in honour of the ſaint, named him *Thomas*. Upon this the mother made the convent magnificent preſents; and, in memory of the miracle, called the chamber, her ſon was born and revived in, by the name of *the convent*. When the child was ſeven years of age, ſhe ſent him to the convent upon her very beſt horſe, with a waxen horſe and boy, the weight of them both; and preſented the church with the waxen, and the live horſe. In ſhort, ſuch was her gratitude, nothing would ſerve her, but that when ſhe died, ſhe would be buried in the monaſtery. And the ſon, many years after, when he had been a pilgrimage to the holy land, and had been knighted for his feats in war there, choſe to have his remains depoſited by his mother's, to honour the ſanctified relics, to whoſe miraculous energy he owed his life[1]. This is a

[1] *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 115. whoſe book, from p. 108 — 135, is filled with the relation and atteſtation of the miracles performed by theſe wonder-working relics.

ſample

ſample of *Becket's* miracles: and he who can ſwallow down theſe fables — muſt be as credulous as —— Mr. *P.* — or an infidel.

So much for this grand hierarchical ſaint! and we maintain that *Henry* did a good deed, in calling off his ſubjects from the profane and blaſphemous ſuperſtition paid to the tomb; and in demoliſhing both the ſhrine and the day, of this fictitious, furious ſaint. But where was the ſaint himſelf all this time? Was there not, if poſſible, a greater call and neceſſity to exert his wonder-working faculty, when ſuch irreparable injuries were offered to his body, and ſuch groſs inſults to his ſanctity? or was there leſs inherent virtue in his body, than in his rags? or why did he not work ſome ſignal miracle, to confound, or convert the ſacrilegious diſturbers of his aſhes? By the ſaint's paſſive tameneſs, we cannot but ſuſpect the whole relation of his miraculous operations; and deem them all, lying wonders, and pious frauds, invented by ſuperſtition, *retained by credulity*, and ſupported by tricks and impoſtures.

Whilſt *Henry* was unſhrining of dead ſaints, *Pole*, we are told, *was taken up in the private offices of friendſhip* (p. 230) to living ones. *His Ligeoiſe friends*, (p. 231) who had ſheltered him in his late rambles, recommended to him the cauſe and perſon of *Albert Pighius*. But little ſolicitation was needed in his behalf with *Pole*. He could beſt of all introduce himſelf to the cardinal; for it appears from

from the abſtract of his famous book, concerning the hierarchy, inſerted in *Dupin's* eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that he maintained the plenitude of the papal power, to a degree of abſurdity and enthuſiaſm [1]. " In the queſ-
" tions," indeed he tells us, " that do not
" relate to the intereſts of the court of *Rome*,
" he was bold enough: but in thoſe that did
" relate to them, he was prepoſſeſſed with
" moſt unſufferable opinions; and of all the
" authors that have written on theſe heads,
" there is not one that has carried things ſo
" far, or who has given more to the Pope
" than he has done [2]." This character of *Pighius* gave *Quirini* a good deal of offence: and he endeavours to ſet it aſide, by ſaying, that *Pole* and *Sadolet* thought differently of him [3]. And yet the former of theſe did afterwards, in the council of *Trent*, publicly mention *Pighius* as one whoſe zeal, in oppoſing hereſy, had run away with his judgment; and who, becauſe he would confute the whole of the *Lutheran* doctrine concerning original ſin, had very near fallen into *Pelagianiſm* [4].

It ſeems alſo, that in one article, he had like to have turned heretic himſelf; and ſome heterodox boaſters maintained, as *Quirini* very civilly expreſſes it, this glaring lie, that

1 *Dupin*, eccleſ. hiſt. 16 cent. v. 1. p. 435.
2 *Id.* p. 437. 3 *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diat.* p. CXL.
4 *Pallavic.* hiſt. conc. *Trid.* l. 8. c. 2. ſ. 2. v. 1. p. 256.

this

this *Achilles* of popery was wholly theirs, in the article of juſtification[1]. Had he condeſcended to have told us who that liar was, we ſhould have learnt from Mr. *P*, the cardinal's echo, (p. 232, *note.*) It may perhaps (from what is ſaid afterwards) be *Bucer*[2]. *Chemnitius* does alſo produce a long paſſage of *Pighius* to confirm it[3]. But not only theſe heretics, but *Tapper, who muſt always be named with honour, has reflected on him with great ſeverity*, (p. 232). With great ſeverity indeed! for that godly man ſuppoſed him to have been bewitched by *John Calvin's* inſtitutions[4]. *Quirini*, however, who will never give up the cauſe of *Pole*, or any of his friends, has undertaken *Pighius's* defence[5]: and as Mr. *P*, had thoſe arguments before him, he ſhould not have left his character under a cloud.

It is pleaſant to obſerve, how bigots and perſecutors can quarrel amongſt themſelves. The writer of *Pighius's* life tells us, he bore an inveterate and implacable enmity againſt heretics[6]. But his zeal and fury ſpent itſelf

1 *Refellendam ſumo vanam heterodoxorum gloriationem — apertiſſimi mendacii eoſdem coarguo. Quirini, v.* 2. *Diat. p.* CXXX.

2 *Id. p.* CXXXIX.

3 *Chemnitii examen. conc. Trident. p.* 140.

4 *Faſcinatus errore, & ſeductus ex lectione inſtitutionum Joannis Calvini. Quir. v.* 2. *Diat. p.* CXXXII.

5 *Ibid. p.* CXXXII——CXXXIX.

6 *Nuſquam tamen acrius inſurgit, quam ubi cum hæreticis (adverſus quos perpetuum, ac implacabile bellum inſtituerat) hierarchiam eccleſiaſticam graviſſime tutatus eſt. Guntheri vita Pighii*, cited by *Quir.* v. 2. Diat. p. CXXIX.

in

in paper. Whereas *Ruard Tapper* had nobler opportunities, as great inquiſitor of the Low Countries, of expreſſing his zeal and activity to thorough good purpoſes: and we need no other proof of his butcherly diſpoſition, than his diabolical treatment of the venerable *Merula*, as related by that fair and candid writer, *Gerard Brandt*[1]; who records a ſpeech of him, fit to come from no other mouth, but that of an inquiſitor. "It is no great "matter," ſaid this holy zealot, "whether "thoſe who die on account of religion, be "guilty or not, provided we may fright the "people, by ſuch examples: which cannot "fail of good ſucceſs, when men eminent "for their learning, wealth, nobility, and "great places, are thus ſacrificed[2]." After this, it is no ſurpriſe to find, that this violent perſecutor was looked upon as an atheiſt. This is the wretch, *who*, as Mr. *P.* informs us, *muſt always be named with honour*, (p. 232).

His holineſs, willing to do *honour* to his *pontificate, and to the ſacred college*, (p. 150) had lately promoted to the *purple, to add more luſtre to it, David Beaton* the primate of *Scotland*, (p. 234) with a view no doubt to expreſs, how much *he was ſenſible, the ſenate of the univerſal church ſhould be compoſed of perſons* of diſtinguiſhed merit, *whoſe*

1 *Brandt's* hiſt. Ref. v. 1. b. 4. A. D. 1556, 1557.
2 *Id.* A. D. 1559.

examples

examples might recall the ancient ſplendour of the prieſthood, (p. 141). *Pole*, eager to embrace any opportunity of expreſſing his zeal, wrote him a congratulatory *letter, too particular to be here omitted*, (p. 234): ſuch an one as we might expect from him, full of cant, and fulſome flattery, wherein he praiſes him for his piety; and congratulates not only the church of *Rome*, but the univerſal church, which had ſuch abundant reaſon to bleſs God, for this promotion [1]. Surely *Pole* could not be in earneſt when he wrote this, or elſe he muſt be ignorant of *Beaton's* real character. The *Scotch* hiſtorians deſcribe him, as a man indeed of abilities, but otherwiſe of an infamous character, and exceeded by none in pride, luſt, and cruelty [2]. But his zeal againſt hereſy would ſanctify every thing in *Pole's* opinion.

The primate of *Scotland* was made a cardinal, more effectually to ſecure the King and himſelf to the court of *Rome:* and no ſooner did he put on the *red garment*, (p. 235) but inſtead of anſwering the prophet's queſtion, according to the turn that *Pole's* fancy had given it, he choſe, if any judgment is to be formed *from his actions*, to anſwer it in the prophet's own words, *the blood of the people ſhall be ſprinkled upon my garments, and I will ſtain all my rai-*

1 *Quirini, diat.* v. 2. p. CXLIV. *Ep.* p. 117.

2 *Robertſon, Spotſwood, Knox*, and *Hume*, do all concur in giving cardinal *Beaton* this amiable character.

ment,

ment, for the day of vengeance is in mine heart[1]. No charge of hereſy coming amiſs to him, but death was the conſequence; whether "men nailed rams horns on the "head of St. *Francis*, put a cow's rump to "his tail, and eat a gooſe upon all-hallow "evening, or kept company with thoſe who "did ſuch wicked and abominable things[2];" or whether they preached againſt the novelties and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. The cardinal had power; and he was reſolved to make ſuch miſcreants feel it to the uttermoſt. But unfortunately for him, the *Scotch* would not be convinced by ſuch rough methods. For he ſhewed ſuch rigour in theſe proſecutions, and particularly ſuch indecent triumph at the execution of *Wiſhart*[3], as enraged the common people, and exaſperated the nobility; who were ſhocked at his ſhameleſs vanity, in celebrating the nuptials of one of his baſtard daughters, with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. Theſe, and other violencies, had made him univerſally hated; and irritated ſome cool and deſ-

1. *Iſaiah*, 63. v. 3, 4,

2. *Spotſwood*, hiſtory of the church of *Scotland*, p. 75.

3. So do all the hiſtorians I have ſeen, call that eminently zealous and peaceable reformer; and not as Mr. *P*, by a ſingular affectation, *Wizart*. *Thuanus*, in the account he gives of this tranſaction, calls him, by interpreting the meaning of his name, from *Buchanan*, *Sophocardius*. L. 3. A. D. 1547. See more of him, *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 333—336. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 205. *Fox*, v. 2. p. 616, &c.

perate

perate aſſaſſins, to perpetrate his murther. " Such was the end of this unfortunate man, " who in his life was ambitious beyond mea- " ſure, and in puniſhing of thoſe he eſteem- " ed heretics more than inhuman [1]." Thus, agreeably to *Pole's* prophecy, *Beaton's* blood, as *Quirini* informs us, was ſhed for the catholic faith; and upon that account, he adds, that he, as well as *Fiſher*, in one *very wiſe* work, is juſtly reckoned amongſt the cardinals famous for their ſanctity [2], and that in another work, it is expreſsly aſſerted, and indiſputably proved, that he was truly a martyr [3].

Mr. *P*, conſcious that ſuch commendations would not be reliſhed in *England*, has wiſely ſuppreſſed them; and, to conciliate our favour, hath ventured to give his ſuffrage againſt perſecution for conſcience ſake, by owning, that *Beaton's* violence *was a ſeverity which thoſe times could not bear, and with which it were to be wiſhed the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit had cauſed all times and all coun-*

1 *Spotſwood*, p. 83. *Knox*, (p. 72) ſays it was *James Melvil*, another of the conſpirators who harangued his aſſociates and the cardinal, in the pithy manner hinted at by Mr. *P*, not *Leſley*. And ſo does *Keith*, if we may judge from the paſſage cited by *Hume*. *Tudors*, v. 1. p. 299.

2 *In catalogo cardinalium ex fama ſanctitatis illuſtrium, in* ſapientiſſimo *opere de fervor. Dei beatif. & beator. canoniz.* L. III. c. XXXIII. *Quir. diat.* v. 2. p. CXLV.

3 *Hiſtoria cardinalium a Donio D' Attichy epiſcopo Æduenſi*, Tom. III. *Ibid.* p. CXLVI. & v. 3. *Præf.* p. 23.

tries

tries to have been for ever unacquainted, (p. 234). It is artful to throw out ſuch ſort of expreſſions when writing in this country: but thoſe who know the mercileſs, intolerant ſpirit of popery, will only ſmile at ſuch fair and ſmooth ſpeeches. — But nothing ſo ſoft, nothing ſo mild and eaſy, as its garb and language, when at a diſtance from power and dominion: but place it where it may exert itſelf, and this candour and moderation is no more. But the times are now altered; and good-ſenſe, and good-nature have, as theſe encomiaſts will tell us, refined the ferocity of ancient times, and *the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit* is now the character of the members of the catholic church: their *tempers and principles are*, as *Pole was, utterly averſe to ſanguinary and compulſive meaſures*, (p. 235). They may have *Pole's temper and principles*, and not be *averſe* to ſuch meaſures neither.

It is well, however, for thoſe who talk ſo, if this be really the caſe. This kingdom has experienced different treatment from thoſe who called themſelves catholics: we never found them ſuch gentle creatures. The bloody days of the *Marian* perſecution exhibited another picture of popery triumphant. Neither did the infatuation of a prince, in later days, upon the throne, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, promiſe better; and the ſtate of the proteſtants in

Ireland[1], when one kingdom was loſt, and the crown of the other was tottering upon his head, was a flagrant proof that ſuch actions, at ſuch a time, could not be more owing to the weakneſs and folly of the prince himſelf, than to the *ſanguinary and compulſive* genius of that *cauſe*, whoſe beſt argument is the ſword. It was nothing but this prevented the reformation gaining ground, even in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and has kept it ſo low, in *France* and *Hungary*. And that iniquitous tyrant the duke of *Alva*, when he left his government of the Low Countries, boaſted, that he had delivered into the hands of the executioner above 18,000 heretics or rebels, without reckoning thoſe who died in war: and yet *Vargas*, the preſident of the council of tumults in *Holland*, that bloody council (as it was called) erected to deſtroy civil as well as religious liberty, had the boldneſs to affirm, that the Low Countries were loſt out of a fooliſh compaſſion[2].

To omit the many long, inhuman, and barbarous perſecutions, ſo contrary to *the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit*, which the proteſtants

1 *King's* ſtate of the proteſtants of *Ireland* under King *James's* late government. Throughout.

2 *Brandt*, Ref. v. 1. b. 10. A. D. 1573. Who hath, in another place, recorded an admirable deciſion of *Vargas*. *Hæretici*, ſaid that learned and upright judge, *fraxerunt templa; boni nihil faxerunt contra: ergo debent omnes patibulare*. B. 9. A. D. 1567.

of

of almoſt every country in *Europe* fatally experienced in the laſt and preceding centuries; let us only conſider how the ſame evil ſpirit hath exerted itſelf, with equal and unrelenting ſeverity, in the preſent *epoch*. The perſecution and baniſhment of the *Saltzburghers* is not forgotten [1]. We have heard too of the unjuſt violencies in *Hungary*, where there were, in the late emperor *Leopold's* time, more than 2000 churches of the reformed; but in 1747 there were not many more than 100 left; and ſince that time, they are doubtleſs diminiſhed [2]. To deſcend lower ſtill. In the freeſt kingdom of all, and where the greateſt latitude is allowed; yet even there, and within theſe few years, the civil power hath been exerted to the ruin and extirpation of ſome of its moſt loyal and peaceable ſubjects; and this, not for oppoſition to government, or maligning the adminiſtration, but ſolely and purely for conſcience and religion's ſake, and for worſhipping God after the way that they are pleaſed to term hereſy [3]. And whoſe heart does not bleed,

1 A. D. 1731, 1732. See the account of the ſufferings of the perſecuted proteſtants in the archbiſhopric of *Saltzburgh*, in two pamphlets publiſhed in 1732 and 1733.

2 *Triſtiſſima eccleſ. Hung. proteſtant. facies. A Matthia Bahil, V. D. M. Veritatis cauſa exule. Bregæ* 1747. 8vo. *Lat. & Germ.*

3 See authentic and indiſputable vouchers for this, in two pamphlets. One intitled, *Popery always the ſame, exemplified in an account of the perſecutions now carrying on againſt the proteſtants in the ſouth of France*: publiſhed in

 1746.

bleed,[a] whoſe indignation does not riſe, at reflecting on the diſmal cataſtrophe of the *Calas* and *Sirven* families at *Toulouſe*[1], where bigotry, with its genuine offspring perſecution, appeared in all its horrors?

Such little reaſon have ſome people to deſcant upon the *lenity of the goſpel ſpirit*. Let them talk of it leſs, and practiſe it more. We, however, do not deſire to retaliate this cruel ſpirit upon the eager, reſtleſs emiſſaries of the church of *Rome* in this kingdom. We hope God will pardon the blindneſs and perverſeneſs of their hearts; and make gracious allowances for the prejudices of an early education, and a miſguided conſcience. Knowing the ſtrong bias of violent prepoſſeſſions, we may juſtly ſay, that we endeavour to win them, by *the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit*. We return them good for evil; and allow them that liberty of conſcience, which they know not how to grant to us. We do not violently ſeize children from their parents. We do not condemn the men to the gallies, or the women to the workhouſes, for being married by prieſts of their own communion. We do not ſend out military force to find out their

1746. The other is of ſtill later date, being *an hiſtorical memorial of the moſt remarkable proceedings againſt them in the ſame kingdom, from* 1744 *to* 1751: publiſhed in 1752. Both of theſe are worthy the knowledge and peruſal of every ſerious proteſtant.

1 See *Voltaire's* letter to Mr. D'AM. upon theſe two tragical incidents. Publiſhed the beginning of this year.

places

places of meeting for religious worſhip; and ſhoot at, impriſon, and fine to utter ruin, thoſe who happen to be ſurpriſed there. We ſend not their prieſts to the gallies or the gallows, for preſuming to exerciſe their miniſterial functions [2].

Theſe, and the like actions of unchriſtian violence, as contrary to the true ſpirit of the goſpel, are forbidden us by *our* religion. We ſhew them therefore a *better* pattern: for *compulſion* is not *conviction*. And though ſometimes our moderation and forbearance may give offence to the more zealous part of our own perſuaſion; yet we had rather be ſlack or even negligent, than rigorouſly to enforce the penal ſanctions of the laws againſt thoſe who differ from us, and which too many of them do juſtly deſerve to feel; ſuch, I mean, who not content with this toleration and connivance, but deeming a defenſive part too mean an undertaking, ſhall boldly put themſelves forward to act on the offenſive, ſhall openly and inſolently arraign the religion of their country, brave its laws, and do their utmoſt to provoke the gentle government which harbours and protects them, by wantonly, and without diſtinction or exception, ſpeaking evil of every name endeared to us by all valuable and grateful obligations, as chriſtians, as ſcholars, and as

2 See many inſtances of all theſe facts, in the pamphets above referred to.

patriots. Thus, becauſe we have not, what a Pope [1] once called the beſt prop and main bulwark of the *Roman* faith, *an inquiſition to ſilence hereſy*, our bigotted enemies of that church preſume to irritate us more and more; and avowedly ſpare no care, or coſt, or pains, or thought, to ſeduce weak, and ignorant, and dying perſons; pleaſing themſelves, that they can lull us aſleep, by declaring againſt compulſion and perſecution. But theſe reſtleſs bigots ſhould conſider, for their own ſakes, that good-nature may be preſſed too hard; and that no government can tamely ſuffer continued inſults againſt its laws, or care to ſee their peoples principles debauched, and the allegiance due to their natural prince transferred to a foreign power. —— Their own officious ſedulity therefore may hurt them. We know what we may expect from them. For though ſmooth words are eaſily ſpoken; yet, as they are not always equally upon their guard, ſomething will drop, which will diſcover their real *temper and principles*. Thus this very writer, with whom we are concerned, who recommends *the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit*, and condemns *all ſanguinary and compulſive meaſures*, is not aſhamed to palliate and juſtify the cruelties of queen *Mary's* reign. And this very cardinal of his, who is ſaid to be ſo *averſe* to ſuch *meaſures*; yet, when legate here, and inveſted with full

[1] *Paul* the 4th.

power,

power, was so far from having either the honesty or the courage to prevent them, that he employed them himself, *in establishing the catholic cause*, (p. 235).

The Pope having, by his mediation, reconciled the Emperor and the King of *France*; and these two princes, to humour his holiness, joining in their censures of *Henry's* conduct: this *servant of servants*, backed by such supports, thought he might now venture, *from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church*, (p. 178) to issue out his bulls of excommunication and deposition of this adversary of his see; and which, to *Pole's* great grief, he had kept by him for some time, to the detriment, as he thought, of the kingdom [1]. By this act, the Pope, as far as in him lay, deprived *Henry* of his kingdoms; absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and ordered them to take up arms against him: and all the christian princes of *Europe* were exhorted to fall upon him, as a public enemy of the church of God [2].

This extraordinary exertion of the plenitude of papal power, having been claimed and exercised by several of those meek and christian bishops who had sate in St. *Peter's* infallible chair, we cannot but express our

1 *Quirini*, v. 1. *Diat.* p. 315.
2 *Burnet*, ref. v. 1. p. 245. *Records*, p. 166.

aſtoniſhment, that Mr. *P.* ſhould preſume to diſcuſs that claim; and to queſtion, not the validity of the excommunicating part of the ſentence, but the depoſing power aſſumed in it: for he tells us, *we do not any where find, that the author of our holy religion declared his vicegerents in the hierarchy to be umpires and diſpoſers of ſtates and kingdoms*, (p. 238). A conceſſion this, highly derogatory to the Pope's ſupreme and infallible authority, and which the abettors of it will not thank him for; unleſs, perhaps, the greater ſervice his book may do the cauſe, may incline them to pardon and indulge him in any repreſentation he chuſes to make of the principles of it.

He ſays, that *Gregory* VII, that very turbulent and ambitious pontiff, *was the firſt who undertook to depoſe a ſovereign*, (p. 239). And ſo it is frequently ſaid. But *Bellarmine* dates this juriſdiction rather higher; and proving from facts, that the Popes claimed this uncontroulable temporal power over princes, he inſtances in *Gregory* the ſecond, in the 8th century, depoſing the emperor *Leo Iſaurus* the iconoclaſt, and *Zacharias*, who deprived *Childeric* of the kingdom of *France*, and gave it to *Pepin*. He alſo mentions acts of equal temporal power exerciſed by other Popes before *Gregory* the ſeventh [1]. And the

1 *Bellarm. Cont. tom.* 1. *de Rom. Pont. lib.* 5. *c.* 8. *p.* 1087, *&c.* See alſo the ſame vol. and treatiſe, l. 3. c. 16. p. 910. And *Baronius*, ſpeaking of *Gregory's* depoſing the emperor *Leo Iſaurus*, ſays, *Sic exemplum poſteris dignum reliquit*

ſame author, in another place, enumerating the ſeveral reaſons for calling a council, makes the motive of depoſing an emperor one of them [1].

But, ſays Mr. *P*, *this opinion is ſo far from making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church, that no profeſſor would be allowed to maintain it in thoſe countries, which are moſt attached to her communion; and no book ſuffered to appear in public, where it was aſſerted*, (p. 240). Things are ſtrangely altered then of late years. For though the papal power hath been conſiderably lowered ſince the reformation; yet, that ſuch a proof of orthodoxy, as maintaining the Pope's temporal authority, ſhould be formally cenſured by any of that communion, is what we can hardly credit, when ſo many *infallible* Popes have, *ex cathedra*, pronounced it *heretical* to deny it: when it has been made a kind of teſt of fidelity and ſubmiſſion to the ſucceſſor of the prince of the apoſtles: when ſo many luminaries of that church have warmly contended for it: and when one of their GENERAL COUNCILS hath poſitively decreed, *that Popes may depoſe heretical princes, and abſolve their ſubjects from their allegiance* [2]. What can we rea-

liquit Gregorius, ne in eccleſia Chriſti regnare ſinerentur hæretici principes. Annal. v. 9. A. D. 730. *ſect.* 5. p. 133.

1 *Id.* Tom. 2. *De conciliis & eccleſia*, L. 1. c. 9. p. 17.

2 The fourth general *Lateran* council, held under *Innocent* III. A. D. 1215. cap. 3. *De hæreticis. v. Crabbe concil.* v. 2. p. 947. *ed.* 1551.

ſonably

ſonably conclude from hence, but that it is an article of their belief?

So neceſſary hath this doctrine been thought to the well-being of the papacy, that ſome of the greateſt and ableſt champions of the *Romiſh* church, inſtead of looking upon it as a *new ſyſtem*, (p. 239) have thought it the more incumbent upon them, and from this very oppoſition, to inſiſt upon its antiquity, and to ſhew the fatal tendency of depriving the ſee of *Rome* of any part of its juriſdiction. *Baronius* calls ſuch an attempt, by no gentler a name than that of hereſy, as depriving the Pope of half his power[1]. And that ready controverſialiſt, the ever-renowned *Bellarmine*, who will not give up any the leaſt of the pontifical claims, enlarges upon this capital article; and has employed his whole fifth book *de Romano pontifice*, in eſtabliſhing that Pontiff's temporal power; expreſsly aſſerting, that though the Pope hath not directly, *de jure divino*, a power over the temporalities of princes, yet indirectly, as the chief ſpiritual prince, he can change kingdoms, take them from one, and give them to another, if it be neceſſary for the good of ſouls[2]. The famous cardinal *Perron* was

1. *Hæreſis errore notantur omnes, qui ab eccleſia Romana, cathedra Petri, e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec niſi ſpiritualem concedunt.* *Baronii Annales*, A. D. 1053. ſect. 14. v. II. p. 249. And again, A. D. 1073. ſect. 13. p. 1072, he calls it, *Hæreſis Politicorum.*

2. *Quantum ad perſonas, non poteſt Papa, ut Papa, ordinarie*

very warm upon this point; and calls "that "doctrine which makes princes indepoſable "by the Pope, a breeder of ſchiſms, a gate "that makes way for all hereſy to enter, and "that it obliges men to confeſs that the ca-"tholic church hath for many ages periſhed "from the earth; for he confidently avows "it, that all the catholic church have held "it, and the whole *French* church, till the "time of *Calvin*; that if this doctrine be "not true, the Pope is ſo far from being "head of the church, and vicar of *Chriſt*, "that he is an heretic and Antichriſt, and "all the parts of the church are the limbs of "Antichriſt'."

But not only is Mr. *P.* ſo unfortunate as to differ in this eſſential point, from theſe illuſtrious champions of his own church, but alſo from his favourite character: for *Pole* who, amongſt other ornamental advantages, was diſtinguiſhed by *every qualification of an all-accompliſhed churchman*, (pref. p. xvi) had

narie temporales principes deponere, etiam juſta de cauſa, eo modo quo deponit epiſcopos, i. e. tanquam ordinarius judex; tamen poteſt mutare regna, & uni auferre, atque alteri conferre, tanquam ſummus princeps ſpiritualis, ſi id neceſſarium ſit ad animarum ſalutem. *Cont.* tom. 1. *De Rom. Pont.* l. 5. c. 6. p. 1081. And in the next chapter, he ſays, *Pontificis eſt judicare, regem eſſe deponendum, vel non deponendum.* And again, ſpeaking of heretical princes, he ſays, *Omnium conſenſu poſſunt, & debent privari ſuo dominio. Ibid.* c. 7. p. 1084.

1 *Stillingfleet*, v. 2. ſerm. 2. p. 99. cited in *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 41. See alſo *Voltaire's* works, v. 7. p. 37. Laſt *French* edition, 1756.

as

as high notions of papal omnipotency, as any cardinal could have; and ſpared no pains to illuſtrate this doctrine. In his firſt book *of the church's unity*, he labours to demonſtrate the pre-eminence of the ſacerdotal to the regal office; and in the ſecond, to vindicate the prerogative of the ſee of *Rome*, and eſtabliſh its high pretenſions. Agreeably to this, he elſewhere aſſerts, "That Chriſt placed *Peter's* chair, above all the thrones of Emperors, and all the tribunals of Kings [1]."

It would be endleſs to cite ſome of the moſt reſpectable names, belonging to the *Romiſh* church, who hold this temporal and depoſing power in its full extent; which ſurely they would not have done, if they had not looked upon it, as *making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church*, (p. 240). And though ſome high-ſpirited, unruly councils have leſſened the Pope's authority, by making it inferior to that of councils, and ſome of the free ſpirits of *France*, by making a diſtinction between the court and the church of *Rome*, have abſolutely rejected it; yet have they been ever looked upon, by others of that church, with an evil eye, as not coming up to the true ſtandard of orthodoxy.

But we have one authority more to prove this point, an authority too of the greateſt weight of all with our biographer, and that

1 *Petri cathedram, ſuper omnia imperatorum ſolia, & omnia regum tribunalia collocavit Chriſtus. Polus de concilio. Quæſtio* 61. p. 34. *Romæ* 1562. 4*to*.

is

is—*his own.* For when he had before informed his readers *of Pole's legantine commiſſion* to the chief powers of *Europe*, to induce them to compel *Henry* to return to the obedience of the ſee of *Rome*, he there vindicated the hoſtile conduct of his holineſs, by declaring, that *the principles on which he proceeded, were drawn from that univerſal ſuperintendence, which* OBLIGED *him to watch over the ſpiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him* A RIGHT *to uſe ſuch means as are proper to effect it*, (p. 178). He then undoubtedly thought with his hero, *that it was the Pope's duty to ſeek,* FROM EVERY QUARTER, *a remedy to thoſe evils, in which the King had involved himſelf and the whole kingdom*, (p. 183). Now, if this be not, in effect, making the Pope *become a kind of univerſal monarch, ſuperior to all others, even with reſpect to extent of temporal power*, (p. 239), I know not what is. We cannot reaſonably infer otherwiſe. Nor need we deſire better proof, that *this opinion* does *make a part of the doctrine of the catholic church* (p. 240), than from the number, weight and character of thoſe members of that church, who profeſſedly inculcate it as ſuch.

Mr. *P*, however, proceeds, and adds, *that no profeſſor would be allowed to maintain it in thoſe countries, which are moſt attached to her communion; and no book ſuffered to appear in public, where it was aſſerted*, (p. 240). If the profeſſors are not allowed to maintain this

this doctrine, they take the liberty to read lectures upon it; which, we may fairly suppose, is not to confute, but to *maintain and assert it*. In the scheme of lectures to be read in the university of *Erfurt*, for the year 1752, two of the law-professors there gave notice, that they would such and such days read lectures upon the decretals of *Gregory* the IXth [1]: which decretals were collected to manifest his boundless authority, and to justify his excommunication of the Emperor *Frederick*, whom that violent and iniquitous Pope "proclaimed an Antichrist and an atheist; and a new gospel was promulged throughout *Europe*, promising, that whosoever assisted in dethroning the Emperor should inherit the kingdom of heaven [2]." And, not to mention some feeble attempts that both *Clement* XI, and *Innocent* XII, made to revive, if possible, their claimed temporal power; there was a work lately drawn up by the inquisition, concerning the papal power, to depose Kings, or discharge their subjects from their oath of allegiance; but such a piece, saith my author, would have met with a better reception in the eleventh

1 *D. Joh: Michael Rotermundt, professor decretalium, &c. & Joannes Joachimus Hunold, J. U. D. &c. ex catalogo prælectionum univ. Erfordiensis per annum sequentem habendarum.* 1751. And the canon of deposing heretical princes, established in the great *Lateran* council, as it is called, is received by these decretals into the canon law L. 5. Tit. 7. c. 13. *De Hæreticis.*

2 *Walch's* history of the Popes, p. 178.

century,

century, than in the eighteenth [1]. And long within Mr. *P's* remembrance hath this doctrine been *aſſerted:* and even a *French* writer hath openly *maintained* the Pope's pretenſions; *and* his *book been ſuffered to appear in public, where it* is *aſſerted* [2]. So that this doctrine is not quite ſo much exploded by his church, as Mr. *P.* would perſuade us it is.

The reconciliation of the Emperor and the King of *France,* and the diſtinguiſhed civilities ſhewn to our *Engliſh* fugitive by the former of thoſe princes, inſpired him and his maſter, the Pope, with freſh hopes of *reuniting ſo fair a portion,* as *England, to the catholic church,* (p. 173). Animated with this pleaſing proſpect, his holineſs iſſued out his bulls of excommunication and depoſition againſt the King of *England:* and the *Engliſh* cardinal chearfully undertook another ſpiritual expedition againſt his own ſovereign. As the encouragement now given was greater than before, his inſtructions ran in an higher ſtrain; and breathed nothing but ruin and deſtruction againſt *Henry.* He was now ſent into *Spain,* to perſuade the Emperor to deſiſt from the league againſt the *Turk,* that he might be at leiſure to make war againſt his

1 *Walch's* Hiſtory of the Popes, p. 298. Note.

2 *Petitdidier,* a *Benedictine* monk, *ſur l' autorité et l' infallibilité des Papes,* printed at *Luxemburg* in 1724.

fellow

fellow chriſtians [1]. Such was *Pole's* charity, loyalty, and piety, which drove him upon this cruſade, at the moſt unſeaſonable time of the year: but *vincit iter durum pietas*, (p. 245).

The hoſtile air of theſe inſtructions with reſpect to Henry, was ſuch, that Mr. *P.* himſelf allows, *that it may ſeem extraordinary, the legate ſhould take upon him ſuch a commiſſion*, (p. 242). But he thinks this apology will be admitted in his behalf, that *he had been declared a traitor, for cauſes which, in their nature, do not ſeem to come under the article of treaſon*, (p. 242). He had ſo, and upon very juſtifiable motives, for being concerned in the ſame treaſonable practices he was now again engaged in, for aiding and abetting a rebellion againſt his King, and inviting and exciting the chief powers of *Europe* to invade and diſtreſs his country. He was ever inculcating, that *Henry* was a greater enemy to the cauſe of chriſtianity than the *Turk*; "that things might be ſo managed, that

1 *Perſuadere ſuæ Majeſtati, ut omni cura velit incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram religionem, nec ulterius pati regem illum ſævire in Deum, & in ſanctos, tamdiu a ſe, & a toto regno cultos, &c. . . . . D.V. Romana conabitur omnibus viribus perſuadere ſuæ Majeſtati longe præſtare . . . fieri a liga univerſa inducias, (et incluſo etiam chriſtianiſſimo rege) cum Turcis ad aliquod tempus, quam propter expeditionem in eoſdem Turcas . . . amittere occaſionem bene gerendæ rei Angliæ, & Lutheranæ. Inſtructio pro card. Polo, &c. Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXXIX. inter Monum. Prælim.*

" no

" no force ſhould appear, and yet the greateſt " force applied, eſpecially if the two powers " (above mentioned) would but interpoſe in " this cauſe, which concerned themſelves, " the holy ſee, and all *Chriſtendom*; and that " now was the time, as they were at peace " together[1]."

But notwithſtanding all this, we are told, *whatever the legate's private opinion might have been of the Pope's depoſing power, in general; certain it is, that he never inſtigated the courts, to which he was ſent, to act in conſequence of it*, (p. 243) Surely, if Mr. *P.* had not the utmoſt contempt of his readers, and the higheſt opinion of his own importance and authority, he would not have dared to ſay this in direct contradiction to *Pole* himſelf, who *did inſtigate*, as much as in him lay, *the courts to which he was ſent*, not to content themſelves with expoſtulations and threats, but declare war againſt his own country, " and cruſh the new *Turks* before " they attacked the old ones." This was his ſuggeſtion to the Pope[2]: this does he in-

1 *Hæc omnia ſic tractari poſſunt, ut nulla vis appareat, & tamen maxima vis adhibebitur; maxime ſi iſti duo principes interponant ſe, ut cauſam hujus ſanctæ ſedis, & ſuam, atque totius reipublicæ chriſtianæ agant, quod ut faciant hæc ipſa erit opportunitas, dum de pace inter eos concluditur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 156. *inter tria Poli ſcripta.*

2 *Quare primum prohibendum, ne novi Turchæ exoriantur, antequam ad veteres oppugnandos eatur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 157. *inter tria Poli ſcripta.*

fiſt upon in his letters to *Contareni*[1]. But not to overpower our biographer with too many proofs at once, I will only refer him to a treatiſe of the cardinal, which, by giving an abſtract of, (p. 275) he would perſuade us, he had read and conſidered.

In that moſt inflammatory and ſcurrilous addreſs to the Emperor, which *Pole* called his *Apology*, where all the vile and bitter expreſſions, which a fruitful and malicious imagination could invent, are in the coarſeſt language, without any regard to decency or religion, applied to his ſovereign; and he who would ſee ribaldry and railing in its perfection[2], and learn the art of calling an enemy by bad names, need only dip into this apology, in compariſon with which, the language of his book on the church's unity, ſevere and unchriſtian as it is, is modeſt and decent: he here openly declares to the Emperor, that

1 —*Primum Cæſarem contentum eſſe, ut amborum nomine mittantur, (ſc.* illius & regis chriſtianiſſimi) *qui Anglo proteſtentur, &c. Deinde hoc clare explicet, quod in omni proteſtatione intelligitur, Anglo non obediente, ſe contentum una cum rege chriſtianiſſimo exequi, quæ ad obedientiam principum catholicorum pertinent, &c. Quir.* v. 2. *Ep. Poli Contareno*, p. 176. And again, in another letter, he ſays, *Excitare enim, ut noſti, in Scriptura Deus ſolet adverſarios, & hoſtes contra eos quos Deus vult caſtigare, &c. Ibid.* p. 198.

2 The apology which *Pole* makes for all this ſcurrility againſt his King, is, that it was the will of God, and his vice-gerent, that he ſhould abuſe him; and he could not help it: *Non minus* (ſays he) *claram Dei vocem intus audire videor, qui me id facere jubeat, quam foris vicarii Dei imperium audio. Apol. ad Cæſ. ſect. VIII. p.* 79.

the

the motive of his late embaſſy was to expoſe the flagrant wickedneſs of *Henry*, and to perſuade him, " to divert his arms from the *Turk*; and " if it could not otherwiſe be, to turn them, " where the greater neceſſity of the church de- " manded them[1]." It would be tedious and endleſs to produce other paſſages to the ſame effect: for the intention of the whole treatiſe is to rouſe the Emperor to revenge the cauſe of the church; and to aſſure him, he could not expect ſucceſs in his other enterprizes, till he had triumphed over this enemy of chriſtianity[2]. But alas! neither the embaſſy, nor the eloquence of *Pole*, could prevail either upon the Emperor, or the King of *France*. *They*, it ſeems, *were far from feeling any thing of the* CHRISTIAN *and public ſpirit, with*

1 *Ab eo miſſus, cui me fas parere cogit, & ad te primum miſſus, deinde ad regem chriſtianiſſimum, ut hujus (ſc.* Henrici) *ſcelera per ſe quidem minime obſcura detegam, & te,* CÆSAR, *a bello Turcico abducere coner, &, quantum poſſum, ſuadeam, ut arma tua eo convertas, ſi huic tanto malo aliter mederi non poſſis, quo te major neceſſitas eccleſiæ vocat.* —— He had juſt before ſaid, that he had threatened the King 3 years ago in his book, if he did not deſiſt from perſecuting the church: *Si nemo alius hoc in ſe ſuſciperet, me factûrum, ut apud principes ejus nequitia ſic pateret, ut aperte cognoſcerent illum multo graviorem hoſtem eccleſiæ, quam Turcarum tyrannum; & ſi alter bello eſſet perſequendus, multo juſtius contra illum arma convertenda, quam contra Turcam, ut a quo major pernicies immineret.*

Quir. v. 1, Apol. ad Cæſ. ſect. VIII. p. 78.

2 *Sic vero dico, ſi expectamus victoriam in Oriente, chriſtianis ab hoſte Chriſti in Occidente gravius afflictis prius eſſe ſuccurrendum; victoriam enim Chriſtianorum in Oriente ab iſta in Occidente pendere. Ibid. ſect. XLII. p. 166.*

which he was animated, (p. 243); and did not care to enter into a war only to gratify the pride and reſentment of the biſhop of *Rome*, and to countenance (what, as Kings, they could not but abhor) the treaſonable efforts of a *fugitive incendiary*. The legate therefore was forced to be contented with a few good words, and retire, as before, with ſhame, confuſion, and diſappointment.

It was not to be ſuppoſed, that *Henry* was ſo ill-ſerved, as to be ignorant of the legate's offenſive negociations with theſe princes. "Whatever danger, therefore, he apprehend-"ed from abroad, he aſcribed it all to *Pole*, "as the great inciter of foreign princes to "invade his realm, and to his correſpond-"ences, as giving encouragement to make "the attempt[1]." The cardinal was at a diſtance, and out of his power: but the ſtorm fell heavily upon his family, and ſome of his friends; who loſt their lives, for the correſpondence they had kept up with him, who had been declared the King's rebel and enemy. Mr. *P.* ſays, their *only crime was their affinity to the cardinal*, (p. 246). *Henry*, bad as he was, was not ſo violent as this neither. They were indicted for high treaſon; the particulars of the proofs are not recorded. And from the account of the proceedings againſt theſe unfortunate noblemen related by *Burnet*[2],

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 148.
2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 358.

they

they ſeem to have been guilty of little more, than of ſome very haſty and very imprudent ſpeeches which fell from them: but the cardinal's open and provoking treaſons, and the dangerous ſituation of *England*, in caſe of an invaſion, might be the occaſion of their being treated with greater ſeverity, than their offences would have deſerved in calmer times.

The offence that *Pole's* behaviour gave his friends in *England*, is ſtrongly expreſſed by biſhop *Tonſtall*, who moſt ſeverely cenſures him for his unnatural, ſhameleſs, peſtilent treaſons; "whoſe pernicious treaſons" (ſays he) "late ſecretly wrought againſt this "realme, have been, by the work of Al- "mighty God, ſo marvelouſly detected, and "by his own brother, without looking, ſo "diſcloſed, and condign puniſhment inſued, "that hereafter, God willing, they ſhall not "take any more ſuch root to the annoyance "of this realm[1]." This was all *Pole* got by this ſecond ramble: he had the mortification to find all his hopes terminated in an unſucceſsful and deſpiſed embaſſy, in the ruin of his family, and the loſs of his friends.

The cardinal's ſanguinary expectations being defeated; to indulge his ſpleen and re-

1 Biſhop *Tonſtall's* Palm Sunday ſermon, before *Henry* VIII. in 1539. Re-printed in 4*to.* 1633, p. 32, 33. And alſo cited in *Strype's* Memorials, v. 1. p. 338.

ſentment [1], he retired to, and *lodged in a convent near Carpentras*, (p. 261), where, whilſt he was trying to get over his public diſappointments, and private afflictions, we are called to attend to *the boiſterous proceedings by which Henry was giving the nation to underſtand, they had exchanged the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, for the arbitrary will of a capricious and bloody prince*, (p. 263). It is hard upon the King of *England*, that nothing he did can pleaſe either *Pole*, or his biographer. *Three years before this time*, he ſays, *he drew up a profeſſion of faith, &c.* (p. 263). *In all this*, he adds, *there was nothing but what had been the conſtant doctrine of antiquity, and was then held and practiſed by the whole catholic church*, (p. 264) We can hardly think, that Mr. *P.* knows any thing more of theſe articles, than what he learnt by running over the titles of them, or he would not have been ſo laviſh in his commendations of them. For theſe articles were intended to be healing ones of reconciliation and unity, wherein ſomething was to be yielded on both ſides: for not to mention, that four of the *Romiſh* ſacraments are entirely dropped; nothing ſaid of traditions, indulgences, the Pope's power, or the like; purgatory was made uncertain, and its abuſes

1 See his letters from *Carpentras* in the months of *Auguſt* and *September*, 1539, wrote to *Contareni*. *Quir.* v. 2. p. 181——199.

taken

taken away. So that, " by perusing these " articles, the reader may perceive several of " the most shocking doctrines of the *Roman* " communion were softened and explained " to a more inoffensive sense, and several su- " perstitious usages discharged [1]."

But now, *at the time I am speaking of*, the zealots of the *Romish* party had gained ground: and the King, (irritated by the opposition *Cranmer*, and the well-wishers to the reformation, had made to the intire dissolution of the monasteries) to manifest to the world, that, though he was not a friend to the bishop of *Rome*, he still adhered to the faith of the *Romish* church, and to remove that offence, which the former profession of faith had given, he established those *six articles*, which we acknowledge to be cruel and bloody indeed. But who enacted those severe penalties to speculative points? *Cromwell* or *Cranmer*? No; neither of them. The partizans of the *Romish* church made this law: and " the adherents of the papacy were " so intent upon its execution, that they got " 500 persons, to be taken up immediately, " but *Cromwell* representing the evil con- " sequences of so violent a proceeding, pro- " cured a pardon for them [2]." But, however, some few years after, (1544) a more considerate parliament passed another act, to

1 *Collier*, eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 128.
2 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 151.

qualify the rigour of these six articles, and to prevent malicious accusations [1].

Meanly as we think, as well as Mr. *P*, of *the slavish disposition of the parliament*, to pass *such inhuman edicts*, (p. 264), we cannot help reminding our biographer, that though this *inhuman* act was repealed in *Edward* the VIth's reign, yet an attempt was made in the first parliament of *Mary's* reign to revive it, which not then meeting with success, was deferred to the next parliament; which, being of a more *slavish disposition*, renewed this, and all the sanguinary statutes against heretics; *and recommended* all *the articles* of the catholic church, *by an argument, of which, it must be allowed*, the Queen, and her ministry, *were perfectly masters*, (p. 264).

But to return to our cardinal; who, whilst *Henry* was thus demonstrating his orthodoxy, remained still at his retirement near *Carpentras*: but as soon as he had recovered his spirits, he set out for *Rome* in obedience to the Pope's commands: and so fearful was he of any attempt against his life and person, and particularly in that place and neighbourhood, that he desired his coming might be kept a profound secret, and appear unexpected [2]. Whilst he was upon the road, he stepped out of the way, to pay his devotions to the *head of Magdalen* [3], which was preserved as a va-

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 176. 2 *Quir.* v. 2 *Ep. Poli Contarini*, p. 194. 3 *Cumque inde ad templum veniissem, in quo ejus caput asservatur, &c. Quir.* v. 4. *Ep. ad Lewardum VI. sect. XLVI.* p. 338.

luable

luable relic, in a cavern near *the road between Aix and Marſeilles*, called *Sainte-Beaume*, (p. 271). *As ſoon* (ſays he) *as I entered the church, I fell into a* great *fit of weeping*, (p. 272). But what occaſioned this exceſs of ſorrow? Was it a compunction ariſing from the ſenſe of the miſery which his folly and enthuſiaſm had brought upon his own family? No. They were, forſooth, his tears for *Henry's* hardneſs and impenitency. Siren tears truly! when he had juſt before, like the knights-errant of old, been running from court to court, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the chriſtian powers, againſt that infidel and heretic, the King of *England*. His tears, therefore, could never be upon *Henry's* account, unleſs they were ſhed, becauſe thoſe princes would not enter into an holy war againſt him.

The cardinal, however, could ſometimes attend to vulgar matters; and had juſt before given an inſtance of his prudence and worldly wiſdom, in refuſing the vacant biſhopric of *Salisbury* from the Pope, judging wiſely, it could do him no more good, than if he had been *nominated*, in the ſame manner, *to that of Antioch* or *Alexandria*: it could neither bring him honour or profit; and his enemies, hearing of it, would make it an handle of their *ſcorn* and *raillery*[1], (p. 267). But in this pilgrimage to *Magdalen's* cavern, he diſ-

1 *Quirini*, v. 2. *Ep. Poli Contareno*, p. 187.

covers

covers his weakneſs and ſuperſtition to a degree of credulity beyond even Mr. *P's* faith, who fairly confeſſes, that *the hiſtorical facts on which the tradition was grounded are of very doubtful authority*, (p. 271): for however high the *veneration*, formerly paid to this cavern, was, yet he muſt be ſenſible, "That it is not criminal now to deny that "*Mary Magdalen* ever was in *Provence*[1]." And I am afraid, *the falſe delicacy of a corrupt age* will equally ſmile at *Quirini*[2], and his *Engliſh* copier, for *ſetting before the reader the ſentiments* which the cardinal *felt* at *Sainte-Beaume, as proofs of his love and regard for the perſon* (p. 272) of *Henry*; and pity their hero for a *ſimplicity*, as void of underſtanding, as of true piety.

As we take no delight in calumniating the dead, we will let the character of *Bembo* (however dubious) paſs without contradiction; and will only obſerve, that the profligacy of his younger years have met with a kind apologiſt, which is not more owing to his orthodoxy and his purple, than to his attachment to, and his connections with cardinal *Pole*.

1 *Voltaire's* works, v. 7. p. 48.
2 *Quir.* v. 2. diat. p. CCXLVI.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE FIFTH.

OUR *Engliſh* cardinal, being now ſafely lodged, and, to quiet his fears of an aſſaſſination, well guarded too, at *Rome*, his biographer has again recourſe to his old friend and aſſiſtant *Quirini*; and as he learnt from him, how much *Contareni* had been the confidant of *Pole* in his late ſpiritual negociations, ſo, from the ſame authority, is he enabled to exhibit *Pole's* gratitude, by doing the ſame kind offices to his friend, who was now, in his turn, engaged in an eccleſiaſtical embaſſy at the diet of *Ratisbon*.[1] *Quirini's* third volume, from which he had his intelligence, is chiefly taken up with matters relating to *Contareni*, and in vindicating him from the imputation of favouring the proteſtant doctrine of juſtification: but as that cardinal's actions were nothing to *Pole*, and the diet at *Ratisbon* had no connection with

1 For a full and accurate account of the proceedings at the diet at *Ratisbon*, the reader may conſult *Seckendorf*, l. 3.

England, we will paſs by this part of the hiſtory, as nothing to our purpoſe.

Quirini has taken great pains to prove the orthodoxy of *Contareni's* ſentiments *on the ſubject of juſtification* (p. 284): and his copier ſays, that *ſome Lutheran writers have vainly flattered themſelves, that Contareni was an abettor of their principles* (p. 285). But thoſe *Lutherans* were not ſingular in their opinion: the inſpired members of the council of *Trent* thought ſo too. For when *Contareni's* nephew, the biſhop of *Belluno*, delivered his opinion in the debate concerning juſtification, and aſcribed the whole of it to faith, and the merits of Chriſt, excluſive of works; the hiſtorian of that council tells us, it gave very great offence; and revived the memory of the charge againſt his uncle, the cardinal, for maintaining the ſame ſentiments [1].

When *Pole* had been ſome time at *Rome*, he received ſome comfort, however, to *alleviate* his afflictions: *this cordial drop was now adminiſtered by the ſlow but ſure vengeance, which, at length, overtook him, who had been the inſtrument of them all. This was the execution of Cromwell* (p. 289). Perhaps the ſatisfaction the cardinal took in the fall of this miniſter of ſtate, whom he looked upon,

l. 3. ſect. 23, throughout, p. 352----369. *Pallavicini hiſt. conc. Trid.* l. 4. c. 13---15. v. 1. p. 140---147. *Sleidan.* b. 13, & 14, part of each. p. 275---285. Father *Paul*, b. 1. p. 94---100.

1 *Pallavicini, hiſt. concil. Trident. lib.* 8. *c.* 4. *ſ.* 15. v. 1. *p.* 261.

to

to uſe his own ſcurrilous language, as the agent of the devil[1], might enable him to attend to buſineſs, and exert himſelf in the behalf of his friend *Contareni*; for *Cromwell* was executed the year before that cardinal went to the diet at *Ratisbon*.

We have before been made acquainted with *Pole's* inveterate hatred of *Cromwell*, (p. 73, *&c.*). It is no wonder therefore, if his hiſtorian ſhould compliment his hero, by drawing the character of the earl of *Eſſex*, with the venom of an exaſperated adverſary. But as Mr. *P.* has profeſſedly adopted his favourite's quarrels and friendſhips, and is therefore too much a party in the caſe, to write either with truth or temper, let us try whether a more favourable and juſt conſtruction cannot be put upon the meaſures and actions of *Cromwell*, than cruelly and wantonly to repreſent him, as having *talents* only fitted *for deſtruction*; *and* that *being irreſtrained by any principle, human or divine, and the brutal ſavageneſs of his mind equal to his vile extraction, he was alike qualified to plan and execute his prince's worſt deſigns*, (p. 164).

Cromwell's introduction into public life was in a manner ſo honourable to himſelf, as would naturally beſpeak the favour and good-will of every ingenuous and honeſt mind.

1 *Legatus Satanæ; nuncius Satanæ. Nominetur ergo, ſiquidem dæmones etiam in ſcriptura nominantur. Poli Apol. ad Cæſ. ſect.* XXVII. *Quir. v.* 1. *p.* 123, 125, 126.

By

By his own merit and activity, by his own induſtry and ability, he ſurmounted the obſtacles which a low birth and education threw in the way to obſtruct his riſe. Courage, fidelity, and gratitude to an eminent degree, diſtinguiſhed his firſt appearance in the houſe of commons: and the King, pleaſed with his generous behaviour in defence of the ſinking *Wolſey*, reaſonably concluded, that he, who had ſerved a private maſter with ſuch zeal and affection, would ſerve him, with the ſame aſſiduity and attachment, in the great concerns of ſtate. But here he found, how "impoſſible it was that any "man, who meddled ſo much in great and "public affairs, ſhould not in divers kinds "ſo miſtake, forget, and err, as to incur the "note of a criminal, when ſevere inquiſition "was made againſt him[1]." *Cromwell* had the misfortune to live in violent and dangerous times; and by his ſtation was obliged to be an active and principal inſtrument in effecting that ſeparation from the ſee of *Rome*, which we account a national bleſſing; tho' it has expoſed him to the virulent reſentments of the members of that communion ever ſince. From the animoſity of the two contending parties, which looked upon him as the chief agent in every thing, he hath met with ſingularly bad treatment: the one, thinking his power and influence greater

1 Lord *Herbert*, p. 520.

than

than it was, have laid the whole of their deſtruction upon him; the other, expecting that protection from perſecution, which exceeded his authority, have joined in nothing elſe with their adverſaries, but in their reproaches and cenſures of *Cromwell*. They have each of them, in their turn, rejected him as a member of their communion; have acrimoniouſly examined his ſpeech and prayer at his execution; the one attempting to prove him to be no good proteſtant, the other no ſound papiſt.

At this diſtance of time from the ſcene of action, we ſhould form an unprejudiced opinion, and make ſuch candid allowances for his conduct and behaviour, as the impetuous violence of his maſter, and the peculiar difficulties of his ſituation, may reaſonably offer in his behalf. The low birth of *Cromwell* might perhaps raiſe the indignation and envy of the nobility againſt him; but the impartial hiſtorian, far from reckoning that any the leaſt diſgrace to his memory, will conſider it as increaſing his reputation: and that confeſſed ability, induſtry, and political ſagacity, which raiſed him to his height of greatneſs, ſhould alſo recommend him to the favourable notice of ſucceeding times. Lord *Herbert*, who is not over tender of *Cromwell's* fame, yet acknowledges, that "he was noted "in the exerciſe of his places of judica-"ture, to have uſed much moderation; and "in his greateſt pomp, to have taken notice,

"and

" and been thankful to mean perſons of his " own acquaintance[1]." Sure ſigns theſe, *not of a brutal ſavageneſs of mind*, but of an open, generous, friendly diſpoſition.

It was *Cromwell's* misfortune, to ſerve a maſter whoſe paſſions were as violent, as his power was boundleſs; and who never ruined by halves. The earl of *Eſſex* had recommended a wife to *Henry*, whoſe perſon proved diſagreeable to him: and this was done with a view, no doubt, to attach him more firmly to the reformation. The partizans of the papal and imperial faction, obſerving the King's uneaſineſs, fomented it with all their might, by throwing a fairer object in his way; and made uſe of the ſame artifice to ruin *Cromwell*, which had before been ſucceſsfully played againſt *Wolſey*; and, by repreſenting the clamours againſt the adminiſtration, prevailed upon the King to ſacrifice his miniſter to pleaſe the people. A falling ſtateſman will never want accuſers: and they who follow him in the ſunſhine of his power, will deſert him when he can ſerve them no longer.

Cromwell experienced this common fate of diſgraced miniſters; and was deſerted by all his friends, except the conſtant *Cranmer*, whoſe letter to the King in his behalf, notwithſtanding one expreſſion in it, which nothing but malice would take in a bad ſenſe,

[1] Life of *Henry* VIII, p. 526.

will

will be a laſting proof of his ſincerity and goodneſs of heart, and his friend's misfortune in ſerving ſuch a maſter.

In the charge brought againſt *Cromwell*, hereſy and treaſon are indeed objected: but the particulars are ſo trifling, that, in all probability, had he been permitted to have defended himſelf, he might have juſtified himſelf, as acting under the King's own directions. But that very act of attainder, which he himſelf, to pleaſe his maſter, had been too forward to promote, proved as fatal to him: *and even the farce of juſtice was* as much *ſuperſeded* in his cauſe (p. 310), as it had been before, in the caſe of the counteſs of *Salisbury* and others; for *the two houſes condemned him without any legal trial, and unheard* (p. 290). The little time between his arreſt, attainder and execution; the King's ſpeedy divorce from *Anne* of *Cleves*, and engagements with *Catherine Howard*, are ſtrong preſumptions, that ſomething more than the ſuppoſed guilt of *Cromwell*, was the real cauſe of his death. *Henry* found himſelf hampered with difficulties, his court divided into factions: he therefore gave up his miniſter, more to gratify their intrigues, and gain a new miſtreſs, than for any real offence, or breach of the laws, which he had committed. So that, as Mr. *Dod* fairly obſerves, "we have reaſon to ſuſpect, that King "*Henry* made uſe of his arbitrary power "in the proſecution, and that ſeveral of

" the articles were frivolous and ground-
" leſs [1]."

Thus fell the low-born *Cromwell*, worthy of a better maſter, and a better fate: and " his puniſhment may ſerve as a caution for " thoſe who ſerve ſevere princes, to procure " ſufficient warrant for all that they do [2]." The King, however, is ſaid to have lamented his loſs; and endeavoured to make ſome reparation to his injured family, by creating his ſon, before the end of the year, a peer of the realm, by the title of lord *Cromwell* [3].

We are now called upon to view our cardinal in another, and more conſpicuous light. The Pope rewarded his merit and his ſufferings, by conferring on him *the government of the province of the patrimony* (p. 295), which *fair domain . . . was bequeathed to the holy ſee by Mathildis, counteſs of Tuſcany, in the year* 1115 (p. 296). This will of the counteſs was ſtrongly diſputed, firſt by the Emperor *Henry* V, and afterwards by ſeveral other princes; nor was her bequeſt given up, till the Emperor *Frederic* II, in the beginning of the thirteenth

1 Church hiſtory, v. 1. p. 168.

2 Lord *Herbert*, p. 521.

3 See more of *Cromwell*. *Collier*, eccleſ. hiſt. v. 2. p. 180, 181. *Dod*, v. 1. p. 167——169. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 159. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 276---280. And for the bill of attainder, *Records*, p. 187, and v. 3. p. 144---147. *Biog. Brit.* v. 3. article *Cromwell (Thomas)* p. 1531.

century,

century, confirmed (but not intirely) that ſplendid donation to the *Roman* ſee, to induce the Pope to eſpouſe his quarrel with *Otho* IV [1]. *Mathildis's* intentions, however, were kind to the holy ſee, who left her inheritance to it, to ſhew her gratitude and affection to that virtuous pontiff *Gregory* VII; with whom ſhe was ſuppoſed to have as great intereſt, and upon the ſame honourable terms, as donna *Olympia* had, in much later days, with the chaſte *Innocent* X [2].

When *Pole* was inveſted with the government of a province, left the holy ſee by ſuch a ſaint, his biographer, from the ſcarcity of *documents* to illuſtrate his hero's actions, entertains us with an account of the *lenity* of his government, and a few quotations againſt perſecution. We perfectly agree with our writer, in an abhorrence of that antichriſtian ſpirit; and ſhall only obſerve, that if the cardinal did purſue the lenient plan at *Viterbo*, he thought differently of it afterwards, when he was legate in *England*, and choſe to try how much better the compulſive argument would ſucceed.

1 *Moſheim's* eccleſ. hiſt. tranſlated by Mr. *Maclaine*, v. 1. p. 500, 501. p. 642. And again, p. 647; and the notes at thoſe pages, by his judicious and accurate tranſlator: who hath done great ſervice to the hiſtory of the Church, by his illuſtrations of his elegant and excellent original. See alſo *Walch's* Lives of the Popes, p. 146---176.

2 *Cave, hiſt. lit.* v. 1. p. 619. *Kortholt. hiſt. eccleſ.* p. 426.

Mr. *P, to recommend* ſuch *equitable ſentiments* (p. 301), (beſides appealing to the candid *Sadolet)* has produced the authority of *Sulpicius Severus*, and St. *Auſtin*. The teſtimony of the former, wherever he picked it up, when thoroughly conſidered, will be found rather to favour the contrary ſentiments. The place here referred to, but without telling us where to find it, occurs at the concluſion of the ſecond book [1]. The hiſtorian having recorded *Priſcillian's* appeal from the eccleſiaſtical tribunal to the Emperor *Maximus*, who ſummoned him and his accuſers to *Treves*, tells us, that this was permitted through the weakneſs of the orthodox [2]. And though *he does blame the biſhops Idacius and Ithacius for applying to ſecular judges* (p. 301), which he *repreſents*, not, *as a ſhameful proceeding*, but as indiſcreetly done [3]: Yet he confeſſes, he ſhould not have reproved the pains they took to extirpate heretics, if it had not been done with too eager a view to carry a point [4]. Neither *does he repreſent the proſecution they carried on; at the Emperor's court, as a ſhameful proceeding* (p. 301). What he really meant, by this expreſſion, will be further explained by

1 *Lib.* 2. p. 437. to the end. *Ed. Home cum not. var.*

2 *Priſcillianus vero . . . ad principem provocavit: permiſſumque id noſtrorum inconſtantia, p.* 447.

3 *Parum ſanis conſiliis, ſæculares judices adeunt, p.* 442.

4 *Quorum ſtudium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, ſi non ſtudio vincendi, plus quam oportuit, certaſſent, p.* 447.

St.

St. *Martin's* ſpeech to the Emperor, that it was a new and unheard of crime, that a ſecular judge ſhould determine an eccleſiaſtical cauſe[1]. This was the bad example, *the ſhameful proceeding*, not the proſecution or puniſhment of heretics, (for they were, he ſays, unworthy of life[2]) but their being tried in the temporal courts. But, *the indignation* thoſe biſhops *raiſed againſt themſelves was ſtill greater, when they followed them to Treves, in quality of accuſers*, (p. 302). Mr. *P.* may think ſo: but *Sulpicius* does not ſay it, for he knew they could not help going to *Treves*[3]. And though St. *Martin* was indeed againſt thoſe heretics being put to death, yet the zeal of other more ſanguinary biſhops prevailed for their execution.

But, moreover, we are told, that *neither St. Martin, nor St. Ambroſe would have any farther communication with the proſecutors, or the biſhops who continued in their communion*, (p. 302), *&c.* [to the end of the quotation.] All this is true: but Mr. *P.* did not learn it from *Sulpicius's* hiſtory. That St. *Ambroſe* did ſo, the editor of the *variorum* edition mentions in one of his notes. But *Baronius*, in his life of St. *Ambroſe*, ſays, that that

1 *Novum eſſe & inauditum nefas, ut cauſam eccleſiæ judex ſæculi judicaret*, p. 449.

2 *Hoc fere modo homines luce indigniſſimi, peſſimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis multati*, p. 452.

3 *Omnes, quos cauſa involverat, ad regem deducti. Secuti etiam accuſatores*, p. 447.

ſaint; and the reſt of the orthodox, did not condemn this execution, only diſliked that biſhops, who ſhould abſtain from blood, ſhould be the proſecutors [1]. And *Sulpicius*, not in this, but in another work, has related, that *St. Martin reproached himſelf*, (p. 302), for a little temporiſing; which place, if Mr. *P.* had conſulted, he might have diverted his reader, with the miraculous circumſtance of an angel's reproving the ſaint for that offence, who from that time found a diminution of virtue [2]. But, however, his holineſs Pope *Leo* the great, *one of the moſt illuſtrious biſhops that ever filled the pontifical throne*, (p. 399), differed greatly in opinion from theſe two ſaints; and, when writing to *Turibius* biſhop of *Aſturia*, commended this ſlaughter of the *Priſcillianiſts*, as an excellent undertaking [3].

This authority proving ſo ineffectual, let us ſee whether the next can ſtand our author in better ſtead. Every writer ſhould be conſiſtent: if he contradicts himſelf, by ſaying and unſaying, his evidence muſt go for nothing. And though in the epiſtle referred to by Mr. *P*, St. *Auſtin* does indeed ſpeak in

1 *Baronius's* life of *Ambroſe*, prefixed to the *Paris* edition of his works, v. 1. p. 47. 1632.

2 *Sulpicii Severi Dial.* 3. *ſect.* 15. *p.* 575---579.

3 *Sulp. Sev. hiſt. lib.* 2. *p.* 452, in the notes. *Baron. vit. Ambroſ. p.* 47, who alſo refers to St. *Auſtin* as approving the ſame practices: and this letter of *Leo* is brought by *Maimbourgh* to prove that hereſy is a capital crime, and may be puniſhed with death. *Hiſt. du Pontif du Leon le grand. lib.* 1.

favour

favour of moderate courſes; yet in ſo many more does he ſpeak ſuch oppoſite language, that nothing can well be argued from his opinion. But the zealots of the *Romiſh* church have made ſuch good uſe of *Auſtin's* intolerant principles, that Mr. *P.* muſt ſurely be off his guard to produce him as a patron of moderation, when he cannot but know that, that ſaint's authority is alleged, upon every occaſion, to juſtify perſecution. Thus their two champions, *Stapleton*[1] and *Harpsfield*[2], cite him as *recommending* death as the proper puniſhment of hereſy. And at a very critical time in the laſt century, a *French* verſion of ſome of *Auſtin's* letters was publiſhed, by order of an archbiſhop of *Paris*, to juſtify the perſecution of the proteſtants, with this extraordinary title, *The conformity of the conduct of the church of* France, *for re-uniting the proteſtants, with that of the church of* Africa, *for re-uniting the Donatiſts with the catholic church:* which letters were well taken to pieces and expoſed by *Bayle* in his philoſophical commentary[3]. So little ſervice have

1 *Stapleton, Promptuarium Catholicum, Dominica quinta poſt Epiph.* upon the parable of the tares, p. 61, *pars prima*; & *Domin. ſecunda poſt Pentecoſt:* upon the goſpel, *Compel them to come in*, p. 159.

2 *Harpsfield's* dialogues. Dial. 6. p. 916.

3 The letters that occaſioned *Bayle's* remarks, were, Epiſ. 93 *alias* 48, 185 *alias* 50, 164, 166, 167, 204, all in defence of the ſword, and written againſt the *Donatiſts*, and particularly that abſurd branch of them, known, not by Mr. *P's* new name of *Circoncilions*, but by that of *Circumcellians (Circumcelliones)*.

theſe authorities been to Mr. *P*, that he had better have left the *ſubject* to *its own ſelf-evidence*, (p. 302), than have called in ſuch feeble and inſufficient ſupports.

The lenity of *Pole* in his government occaſioned the late learned digreſſion. We are now to conſider him as head of a literary ſociety at *Viterbo*: and if *Quirini* and Mr. *P.* were not reſolved, at all events, to extol their hero, we might have expected ſome inſinuations of hereſy to be thrown out againſt the cardinal himſelf. The proteſtants challenged him at this time, as ſecretly favouring their doctrine of juſtification: and the *Viterbo* ſociety was unluckily compoſed of real, or reputed heretics. *Quirini* ſays, theſe were the principal members of it, *Flaminius*, *Peter Carneſecca*, the marchioneſs of *Peſcara*; and *Caracciolus*, from what is there ſaid of him, ſeems to be another[1]. Of theſe *Flaminius*, *de quo erant primæ lachrymæ*[2], was a ſuſpected heretic: and though he was regained to the church by the endeavours of *Pole*, yet he never got over the objection of that crime, and is ſtill branded with it[3]. Mr. *P.* indeed ſays, he *had imbibed, at Naples, the tenets of Valdes, with whom he had con-*

1. *Quir.* v. 3. *præf. De Viterbienſi ſodalitio*, p. 59 & 71. & v. 4. *Apparatus*, p. I—VIII.

2. *Ep. Hieron. Muzzarelli. Mag. ſac. Palatii. Polo, Quir.* v. 5. p. 127.

3. *Shelhorn. Amæn. lit.* v. 2. *Diſſ. de rel. &c. Flaminii*, p. 38. *Thuanus, lib.* 8. A. D. 1551.

tracted

tracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned to Rome, a proselite to his impious system, (p. 300). Thus does our godly writer, who is never at a loss for words to abuse those, whom he knoweth nothing of, or disliketh, calumniate a true servant of God. *Valdes*, or rather *Valdesso*, was a *Spanish* nobleman, and a soldier, who, in the latter part of his life, that there might be (as he said) a time between fighting and dying, devoted himself intirely to the duties of religion. His piety did not shew itself in controversy, but in inculcating experimental and practical religion, and in magnifying that faith and holiness which planteth the life of God in the souls of men[1]. This was his offensive and *impious system*.

[1] *Valdesso's* 110 Considerations, translated by Mr. *Farrar*, and published in 1638, a small 4*to*. *Walton's* Lives, p. 319, in the life of *Herbert*. Amongst *Erasmus's* Epistles, there are two very respectful ones addressed to him. L. 19 p. 619. L. 22. p. 824.

Beza, in one of his letters, is extremely severe upon *Valdesso's* Considerations. It is a great pity that good man's zeal should carry him to such unwarrantable lengths, against a book that hath all the marks of a sincere and cordial piety. He should rather have blessed God for that degree of vital and experimental religion expressed in it; and have considered, with his *English* translator, that "*Valdesso* lived where the SS. were in no "reputation, and therefore no marvel that he should "speak so slightly of them; but rather, on the contrary, "it may seem a marvelous thing in our eyes, to have a "statesman in those parts, at that time, so far illuminated "and taught of God as he was." *Farrar's* preface. V *Bezæ Ep. Theol. Ep.* 4. *N. Genevæ* 1575. *Ed.* 8*vo*. *p.* 40.

Caracciolus

Caracciolus was that celebrated marquis of *Vico*, who, though nephew (by his mother) to *Paul* IV, left *Italy* for the ſake of religion; and flying to *Geneva*, lived there the remainder of his days; and was therefore an avowed heretic. He, *Valdeſſo*, *Flaminius*, and the marchioneſs of *Peſcara*, were awakened to a ſenſe of religion, by the powerful preaching of *Martyr* and *Ochin* at *Naples* [1]. The marchioneſs was a moſt excellent and exemplary lady, but ſo ſtrongly ſuſpected of hereſy, that when poor *Carneſecca* was ſome years afterwards brought to the ſtake, by that hunter of heretics, his holineſs *Pius* V, the chief of the charge againſt him was, his *dangerous intimacy* with the ſectariſts in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with the marchioneſs *Peſcara*, and *Julia de Gonzaga*, ſuſpected heretics [2]; the high ſin of which, he was fully convinced of — when he was burnt for it.

Theſe were *Pole's* intimates at *Viterbo*, and who did him great honour. *Quirini*, in his defence of the ſociety, gives up *Carneſecca* and *Caracciolus* as apoſtates, but contendeth ſtrenuouſly for the orthodoxy of the marchioneſs and *Flaminius* [3]: but as two of the vicars of Chriſt [4] did not think ſo favourably of them,

1 See the life of *Caracciolus* in *Italian* and *Latin* by *Beza*; and in *Engliſh* by *Craſhaw*. 1688. a thin 12*mo*. *Thuanus*, L. 3. A. D. 1547, & L. 84. A. D. 1586.

2 *Thuanus*, *lib.* 39. A. D. 1566.

3 V. 2. *Diat.* p. CIX---CXVI. & v. 3. *De Viterbienſi ſodalitio*, p. 59---72, & v. 4. *App.* p. I---VIII.

4 *Paul* IV, who put *Flaminius* down as an heretic in the

the cardinal muſt not expect to be believed, before thoſe infallible beings, who cannot err in matters of faith.

Whilſt *Pole* was happy in the enjoyment of ſuch good company, he had the mortification to hear of his mother's execution. Her behaviour, as lord *Herbert* relates it, at the time of her attainder was maſculine and vehement[1]; but upon the ſcaffold it was ſo extraordinary, that it is difficult how to ſpeak of it. The ſofteſt manner of expreſſing our ſentiments, is to ſay, that her reſentment, for her cruel uſage, and long confinement, was ſo ſtrong, that it had turned her head; or ſhe never could have behaved, at the cloſe of life, in ſo frantic a manner, running backwards and forwards, and forcing the executioner to do his office, as he could. A *martyr* (p. 313) (as her ſon called her) always ſubmits to perſecution with patience. That the legate ſuffered a good deal upon this account, can eaſily be conceived: and his ſorrow muſt be the more pungent, as he muſt be ſenſible, that his own folly and perverſeneſs had been the more immediate occaſion of the violent deaths of all that were near and dear to him; and though we cannot but lament, that the counteſs ſhould fall by the arbitrary will of a

the *Index lib. prohib. Romæ* 1559: and *Pius* V, who burnt *Carneſecca* for being acquainted with the heretical marchioneſs.

1 Life of *Henry* VIII. p. 511.

tyrannical

tyrannical ruler, her ſon, however, deſerved to feel all that he did feel.

But *Pole's chriſtian fortitude*, (p. 315) muſt be contraſted with *Tully's childiſh impiety*, (p. 314), upon the death of his favourite daughter *Tullia*, when nothing would ſatisfy the fond parent, but ſhe *was to be changed into a goddeſs, and divine honours decreed her*, (p. 314). The cardinal indeed did not go quite ſo far: he was content privately to conſider his mother as a ſaint and a martyr, and an additional patron and advocate in heaven [1]. And he might perhaps ſometimes comfort himſelf, that his church might in time do it; as the deification of ancient *Rome* is exactly copied in the canonization of modern *Rome*, where every Pope claims the privilege of adding freſh ſaints to the church. And whatever worſhip was paid by the ancient pagans to their heroes or inferior deities, the Romaniſts ſtill pay to their ſaints and martyrs; *and exhibit*, in the offices of their church, *thoſe guilty inſtances, to which the book of Wiſdom aſcribes the origin of idolatry* [2], (p. 315).

1 *Bono . . . animo ſimus: hæc quoque acceſſit ad cæteros patronos, & advocatos, quos in cœlis habemus.*
Quirini, v. 2. *Vita Poli, ſect.* XL. p. 59.

2 *Wiſdom*, ch. XIV. *v.* 12, *& ſeq.*

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE SIXTH.

TO prepare his reader for one of the moſt intereſting events of *Pole's* life, Mr. *P*, by the help of the biſhop of *Meaux*, is enabled to harangue upon the deplorable and corrupted ſtate of the church of *Rome*, for ſeveral centuries together, with reſpect to morals and religion, *in its head and members*, (p. 319). From the ſame channel does he derive that ſhew of learning and reading, to evince the neceſſity of, what we acknowledge, and readily admit, *the reformation of the church*, (p. 320). By an unfortunate miſtake, he diſcovers this oſtentation of literature to be a borrowed ſtock of knowledge; and betrays his ignorance, by referring to the younger biſhop *Durandus*, as preparing *matters which were to be diſcuſſed in the council of Vienna*, (p. 319). Now had Mr. *P*. looked into any eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian whatever, he would have found, that *Durandus's undertaking*

taking was diſcuſſed at the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* in *France*; but *Boſſuet*, by only ſaying *Vienne*, and not being more particular, led his tranſcriber into this groſs miſtake [2].

This lamented degeneracy of morals, which *Durandus*, and *Boſſuet's* other authorities complained of, our author confirms by adding, *the opulence of the clergy*, or *the inconveniences which always attend immoderate wealth*,—*the croiſades, or holy wars*,—*abſence of biſhops from their dioceſes, relaxation of canonical penitence, the importation of foreign vices*,—*a gloomy, unprofitable, litigious kind of learning* (p. 321); but above all, the notorious profligacy *of moſt*, or *ſeveral* (as corrected in the *errata*) *of the Popes and their court*, (p. 322), as evils that called aloud for redreſs. And *theſe general cauſes of the neceſſity of a reformation were quickened into birth by the following event*, (p. 323): namely, *Luther's* preaching againſt indulgences. All this we readily allow; and humbly thank him for thus beſpeaking the favourable attention of the public to *Luther's* oppoſition to the enormous corruptions of his church. But when he tells us, *the grant of indulgences had been as ancient*

1 *Cave, hiſt. lit.* v. 1. *App. p.* 10 & *p.* 13. *V.* 2. *p.* 525. This was that famous council under *Clement* V, A. D. 1311, which perſecuted and aboliſhed the knights Templars.

2 *Boſſuet, hiſt. des Variations, &c. v.* 1. *lib.* 1. *p.* 1--5. from whom Mr. *P.* has tranſcribed without acknowledgment (his conſtant practice) p. 319---321 of his book, and pilfered his vouchers.

as

as chriſtianity, (p. 323), we preſume to differ a little from him; and fear, he hath too boldly advanced what he cannot prove: for our reading tells us the direct contrary. We find that ſome of the champions of his own church were obliged to give up the point of antiquity. Thus cardinal *Cajetan* owns, "the "firſt riſe of *indulgences* is very uncertain: "that we have no account of it either in the "SS. or in the writings of the ancient "doctors, whether *Greek* or *Latin*; all that "we know is, that St. *Gregory* inſtituted the "indulgences of ſtations[1]." To the ſame purpoſe biſhop *Fiſher*, when writing againſt *Luther* himſelf, owns, that they were not in uſe in the firſt ages of the church[2]. And we learn from *Prierias*, another of that hereſiarch's opponents, that they were made known to us *not* from the authority of SS, but from the *greater authority of the church of Rome and her biſhops*[3].

Theſe conceſſions from ſuch warm champions of the *Romiſh* faith, ſhould make the modern defenders of that church leſs peremp-

1 *Dupin, eccleſ. hiſt.* 16 *cent.* 1*ſt* p^{t}. p. 393. It is a wonder how this cardinal, and *Alphonſo de Caſtro*, who ſays the ſame in his book *adverſus hæres. lib.* 8. *p.* 577, could eſcape the pruning knife of the inquiſitor *Sotomajor*, who has put *Polydore Virgil* in his *index expurgatorius*, p. 853, for ſaying much the ſame thing in his book *de invent. rerum, lib.* 8. *c.* 1.

2 *Johannes Roffenſis de indulg. &c. art.* 18.

3 *Dial. Sylv. Prieriatis, art.* 66. *Inter opp. Lutheri, v.* 1. *ed. Witt. p.* CLXVI.

tory,

tory, and more cautious and modeſt in their aſſertions: for, however they who know no better may be deceived by a ſpecious repreſentation of abſurd falſhoods, the ignorance or the impudence of ſuch abſurd zealots will but the more expoſe them to others. As the writers above alleged give up the argument from *SS.* which is more antient than that drawn from *antiquity*; what will our biographer make of this latter proof? It was towards the middle of the 9th century before we hear the word *indulgences* mentioned, in the ſenſe which the preſent church of *Rome* holds. And all that Mr. *P.* ſays is wide of the point; for wherever he got his knowledge, the inſtances he has recourſe to in proof of *the antiquity and lawfulneſs of indulgences*, (p. 323), do not reſpect the puniſhments of the *next* world, but, what nobody denies, the power of the church in mitigating eccleſiaſtical cenſures in *this*. In the dark ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, private biſhops firſt began the gainful trade of *indulgences:* which attempt ſucceeding well, the *Roman* Pontifs limited their power, and monopolized the ſcandalous traffic to themſelves [1]. The firſt plenary *indulgence* is ſaid to have been granted by *Innocent* III. in the council of *Lateran* in

1 *Moſheim's* eccleſ. hiſt. Cent. xii, v. 1, p. 594, 595. For a full account of the enormous doctrine of *indulgences*, ſee *Lettres ſur les jubiles*, by Mr. *Chais*, miniſter of the *French* church in the *Hague*, 3 vol. 8*vo*, 1751. An extract of which is given in the *Bibliotheque raiſonnée*.

1215; and the next by *Boniface* VIII, in 1399, for the jubilee year. From this time they became more frequent, more avowed and ſhamefully venal. It is owned, that the horrid proſtitution *of theſe grants was the glaring diſorder of thoſe times, and had raiſed ſuch a general diſcontent in all orders, as endangered the grace itſelf, and the authority which conferred it, to fall into contempt*, (p. 324). Wherein then did *Luther* do amiſs in oppoſing this flagrant iniquity? We deſire no better apology for the zeal which animated that *man of God*, than Mr. *P's* own confeſſion: himſelf acknowledges their great abuſe. And the Pope's agents in the diſperſing theſe *indulgences* behaved in the moſt outrageous manner, publickly proſtituting the power of delivering ſouls out of *Purgatory*; and openly, and without any ſenſe of ſhame, ſpent the money collected for that purpoſe, in the ſtews, and the tavern, in gaming, and in every thing that was vile[1].

Thus whilſt a vicious court, and its profligate dependants, enjoyed the ſpoils of a weak and puerile devotion, thoſe of that church, who had godlineſs with underſtanding, could only bewail, in private, the miſerable condition of true religion. To oppoſe the torrent was, they feared, above the power and capacity of any private perſon. Thoſe who had attempted to rouſe the court of *Rome*,

1 *Thuanus*, *lib.* 1. A. D. 1516.

had been ſo unſucceſsful, that they deſpaired of any reformation being effected; and *Albert Crantzius*, the famous civilian, and dean of *Hamburgh*, who, in his youth, had ſunk under the oppoſition raiſed againſt him, for ſome cenſures of the court and doctrine of *Rome*, reading, juſt before his death, *Luther's* propoſitions concerning *indulgences*, is reported to have ſaid, *Frater, frater, abi in cellam, & dic miſerere mei Deus*[1]. "The bold efforts of this new adverſary of papal ambition and deſpotiſm, were indeed honoured with the applauſes of many, but few or none entertained hopes of their ſucceſs[2]." But no ſooner had he raiſed his *warning voice*, than his endeavours were anſwered beyond all expectation: and this obſcure and inconſiderable friar proved an inſtrument in the hands of providence of that religious revolution, which almoſt immediately commenced.

Mr. *P.* hath adopted a vulgar error; and imputes the firſt riſe of this oppoſition, to a jealouſy *between the Auſtin and Dominican fryars*, (p. 324); and that *Luther*, out of reſentment, that the monks of his order were not employed in vending theſe holy wares, was appointed *by their general to preach in oppoſition to their rivals*, (p. 324). But *Luther's* general character will clear him from

1 *Kortholt, hiſt. eccleſ. p.* 718. See alſo *Wolf's* preface to *Crantzius's* works.

2 *Moſheim*, v. 2. p. 15.

this

this baſe inſinuation. He was not a perſon likely to be ſwayed by ſuch paltry motives: and, moreover, the thing itſelf is falſe. This lucrative commiſſion was ever principally intruſted with the *Dominicans:* and for half a century before *Luther's* time, Mr. *P.* will be hard put to it, to find any *Auſtin* friar employed in this office. And beſides, this very commiſſion, which is ſuppoſed to have raiſed the anger and envy of *Luther,* becauſe the *Dominicans* were preferred to his order, was offered to, and refuſed by the *Franciſcans.* The office itſelf was ſo odious, that it was not at all deſirable to be any ways concerned in the turpitude of ſuch infamous traffic. None of *Luther's* cotemporary adverſaries ever reproached him with ſuch ignoble and ſelfiſh motives of oppoſition. " Even the " lying *Cochlæus* was ſilent on this head " during the life of *Luther,* though after " his death, he broached the calumny I am " here refuting. But ſuch was the ſcanda- " lous character of this man, who was no- " torious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their " ſiſter-vices, that the more reſpectable ene- " mies of *Luther* were aſhamed to make uſe " either of his name or teſtimony [1]."

The inſinuation that *Luther* oppoſed the ſale of theſe *indulgences,* in obedience to *Staupitz's* commands, is as ill grounded as the former ſuggeſtion. For that reformer, in a

1 *Moſheim,* v. 2. p. 17, 18. Mr. *Maclaine's* note.

letter to his vicar-general, informs him, that ſuch offence had been taken at his propoſitions, that againſt his will he was obliged to appear in public; and therefore he begged him to tranſmit his trifles *(has meas ineptias)* to the Pope; not, as he adds, that I wiſh you in the ſame danger with myſelf, ſince I have undertaken theſe things at my own hazard alone. Chriſt will ſee whether they are his or mine which I have ſaid[1]. Now if *Luther's* preaching had been by order of *Staupitz*, would he, in a private letter, written to him, have taken all the blame upon himſelf? Would he not rather have availed himſelf of his ſuperior's command? But *Luther's* further proceedings demonſtrate, that his oppoſition did not ariſe from any other motive, than a zeal for the honour of God, and the injured cauſe of religion. This was reaſon enough for a man of his piety, ability and courage to exert himſelf, to attack the impious, novel doctrine, *and efficacy of theſe pardons, ... and to diſcredit* them *in the minds of the people*, (p. 324).

Amongſt the *ſeveral catholic divines*, who *thought themſelves obliged to oppoſe him*, we

1 — *Non quod te mihi conjungi periculo velim, meo ſolius periculo hæc egiſſe volo. Chriſtus viderit, ſua ne ſint an mea, quæ dixi.* --- He adds, *Cæterum minacibus illis meis amicis, nihil habeo quod reſpondeam, niſi illud Reuchlinianum: qui pauper eſt, nihil timet, nihil poteſt perdere. Res nec habeo nec cupio. Famam & honorem, ſi habui, aſſidue nunc perdit, qui perdit.* *Luth. opp.* v. 1. p. 99, 100. *Witt.* See *Seckendorf, lib.* 1. *p.* 15, & 33.

are

are repeatedly told, ECHIUS *diſtinguiſhed himſelf*, (p. 324). We gueſs this formidable hero to be no other, than *Eckius* of *Ingoldſtadt*; who, as well as the other earlieſt opponents of *Luther*, undertook a taſk, they were not at all qualified for; as they were not to be named with their *antagoniſt* in point of knowledge, or ability. Such a contempt of them and their learned labours, had *Luther* and his friends, that they thought greater ſervice could not be done his cauſe, than by republiſhing, amongſt his works, the lucubrations of his adverſaries [1]. Mr. *P.* has pitched upon *Eckius*, as the greateſt champion of them all: his ſtrictures *(obeliſci)* upon, and diſputation with *Luther*, being of the ſame claſs with the reſt, are honoured with a place in the ſame volume with his brother combatants; and by this means they ſtill live. But alas! what hopes could the orthodox have of converting the heterodox, when, as *Eckius* himſelf told his aſſociate *Hogſtrate* (that well-known foe to *Reuchlin*, *Eraſmus*, *and Luther*, to learning, religion, and common ſenſe) that when he had ſet in battle-array ever ſo many fathers, that raſh heretic *Luther* ſhameleſsly denied them all; and ventured, moreover, to aſſert, that he alone would confute a thouſand ſuch, and

1 *Tetzel's*, *Prierias's*, and *Eckius's* performances occur in the firſt volume of *Luther's* works. Pope *Leo* X's bull againſt *Luther*, is inſerted in the 2d volume, where, if I may ſo ſay, it is notably baited.

with no other argument than this, that Chriſt was the foundation of the church, and none other ſhould any man lay: *but*, ſays he, *I clearly confuted him, by producing the* 12 *foundations out of the Revelations* (c. xxi. v. 14). This was an irrefragable anſwer indeed! The Divine proceeds in his narration; that *Luther* maintained, that the *Greeks* and others, not under the obedience of the Pope, might be ſaved. He ſaid too, he wiſhed there was no mendicant order at all: and he ſpoke alſo many other ſcandalous and abſurd things, ſuch as, that a Council, as it conſiſted of men, might err; that purgatory could not be proved from S S. *&c.* as you will ſee when you read our diſputation[1]. Excellent arguments to convince ſuch a man as *Luther:* and this is his own account too. And this was the principal of thoſe *catholic divines*, who were pitched upon to confute that reformer. And could Mr. *P.* have thought of any abler adverſary, no doubt he would not have named *Eckius*.

"Can we therefore wonder, that when *Luther* was *reſiſted* only by thoſe, who wrote like barbarians, and reaſoned like ideots, that his writings were received with ſuch univerſal applauſe, or that S S. reaſon and antiquity ſhould not triumph over ſuch minute and

1 --- *Dum ei (ſc.* Luthero) *Auguſtinum, Hieronymum, Ambroſium, Gregorium, Cyprianum, Chryſoſtomum, Leonem & Bernardum, ſuper illo adducerem cum Theophylo, omnes negavit abſque rubore, &c. Ep. Eckii ad J. Hochſtraten. inter opp. Lutheri*, v. 1. p. 335. *Ed. Witt.*

deſpi-

deſpicable opponents? The reaſoning of *Eckius* being ſo weak, he had then recourſe to his friend inquiſitor *Hogſtrate's* ſtronger method of conviction; and attempted to accompliſh the ruin of the *Saxon* reformer, by prevailing on the Pope to iſſue out his *anathemas*, and excommunicate the man who could not otherwiſe be confuted. His own elegant account of this ſhall be given below, and in his own words too[1]. *Luther's* undaunted reſolution no more regarded the Pope's bull, than the writings of his creatures: and to ſhew his deſign of leaving a corrupt and ſuperſtitious church, he publicly burnt this bull againſt himſelf, and thoſe decretals and canons which had eſtabliſhed the Pope's deſpotic juriſdiction. From him did he appeal to a general council: and in the mean time he ſtrengthened himſelf by appealing to the unbiaſſed ſuffrage of the learned; he expoſed the antichriſtian doctrines of popery; he vindicated himſelf and his cauſe by many learned writings, which were every where greedily ſought after, and occaſioned an alarming ſe-

1 *Minuta contra Lutherum eſt concepta, proximo conſiſtorio cardinalium expedietur. Etſi Eckii conſilium ſequetur ſanctiſſimus, tunc omnes cardinales & omnes epiſcopi ſe ſubſcribent. Hæc Stetimus nuper, Papa, duo cardinales, doctor Hiſpanus, & ego, per quinque horas in deliberatione hujus negotii, ſinguli rogabamur noſtras dare ſententias. Bullæ forma placebit bonis, mixta enim eſt ex veterum conciliorum ac pontificum, & novarum conſuetudine, errores ſunt 41 expreſſè condemnati.* Ep. Eckii, inter opp. Lutheri, v. 2. p. 48.

ceſſion from the church and authority of the *Roman* Pontiff.

In the midſt of this confuſion Leo X. *died* (p. 327), who, from his exaltation to the papacy, was remarkable for little more than aſſociating with wits and buffoons, and ſpending his time in diſſipations and pleaſures of the loweſt kind[1]. In the beginning of his book our author had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of *Leo's* ſucceſſor *Adrian* VI: but now when he is introduced as oppoſing *theſe innovations*, his zeal and learning as a divine is inſiſted upon. And what care did he take to heal *the diviſions which troubled the peace of the church*, and *the corruptions which had been the occaſion, and ſerved as a pretence for them?* Why truly, he did think, we are told, *of removing whatever had given offence in the grant of indulgences. Having lain aſide this deſign*, he next thought, *of re-eſtabliſhing the uſe of public penitence, but . . . the depraved ſtate of Chriſtianity rendered it abſolutely impracticable. He complained*, that the *officers of his* own *court were not diſpoſed to reform ſeveral unwarrantable practices, which cauſed the innovators to ſay, that every thing was venal at Rome.* The politic *Soderino* told him, ſuch a ſtep *would only ſerve to make the diſturbers of the public tranquility more inſolent, and heighten their credit with the people.* Was his *intended*

1 *Hiſtoire des Papes*, v. 4. 4*to*. *A la Haye*, 1733. p. 417, *& ſeq.*

refor-

reformation to take place, *they would go on to demand other essential changes, and thus throw every thing into confusion*, (p. 327, 328). Can a member of the church of *Rome* say this, and not blush? Is it not a full justification of the reformer's opposition to the tenets of that infatuated church, whose rulers, in the language of the sacred volumes, *seeing they did see, and not perceive, and hearing, they did hear and not understand.* [1] And yet this Pope was by much the best of any in those days, and the very reverse of his luxurious predecessor: a Divine, temperate, serious, and willing to correct those corruptions, which, by being allowed, gave such encouragement to opposers, as threatened the total ruin of the papal power. For this, his memory has been severely treated by the parasites of the court of *Rome*; who, though they reckoned him a good priest, have looked upon him but as a midling Pope [2].

After him the shuffling *Clement* VII. and the subtle *Paul* III. followed the example of their predecessors; talking indeed loudly of reformation, but making *fruitless efforts of assembling a general council*, though the latter had sworn *to call one within two years after his election*, (p. 328). But *during these consultations*, we are informed *the new opinions had still continued to make some fresh breach on*,

1 *Mark* 4. v. 12.
2 *Pallavicini, lib.* 2. c. 9. n. 1.

what

what is termed, *the received belief of all antiquity, and gain over new proſelytes,* (p. 328). And well they might, when the learned (by the example of *Luther's* intrepidity) had got over the dread of that *brutum fulmen,* the Pope's anathemas; and had the courage to expoſe to public deriſion, the weak props which ſupported the arrogated falſe claims of antiquity, unity and univerſality. When the impoſture was once laid open and inconteſtably proved, the wonder ceaſes, that ſo many ſtates and kingdoms embraced with open arms this revival of chriſtianity; and ſearching the S S, (which before were hid from them) they found what the reformers ſaid to be true: they therefore gladly heard them; they received, and believed their word, and gave it free admittance.

To convince us how weary the world was of the exorbitant encroachments, and groſs corruptions of the ſee of *Rome,* Mr. *P.* has condeſcended to relate the rapid progreſs (p. 328, 329) which the reformation made in ſeveral countries; which is no weak argument in favour of it. The *Anti-Trinitarians* and *Anabaptiſts,* are inſerted, only to triumph over *the enormous licentiouſneſs of new opinions,* (p. 329). Could the reformers help this? Who were more ſtrenuous than they in detecting the error of thoſe ſects? But *the ſynod of Scrinia came to this wild reſolution, of allowing every one to believe as he thought proper.* What the canons of that obſcure and

and unheard-of ſynod were, I know not: but the *reſolution*, here mentioned, was more agreeable to ſenſe and reaſon, than, with the fathers of the *Trent* ſynod, *to damn men, for not believing, what they could not poſſibly believe.*

But, ſays our hiſtorian, *the reformation . . . was ſo far from producing any amendment, that the morals of thoſe who relinquiſhed the old religion, became viſibly more degenerate*, (p. 330). We do not pretend to ſay, that all who came over to the reformation, were, or continued *ſaints:* but it is ſtrange, if they were viſibly more degenerate, when, beſides the ſame calls to a virtuous life which they had before, they wanted in this *new religion*, all the eaſy pacifiers of a tender and awakened conſcience; for the reformers had no pardon-mongers and indulgences, no corporal penances, or pretended abſolutions, no maſſes for the dead, no expected deliverance out of purgatory, to offer, to leſſen the dread, and remove the puniſhment of ſin. They did not thus deceive ſinners. They exhorted their converts to truſt in no external ordinances, or formal devotion, but to amend and correct their hearts: and they aſſured them, that an holy life was as neceſſary to ſalvation, as a ſound faith. If therefore their *morals* were not better than before, it was neither the fault of their religion, or their teachers, who omitted nothing that could manifeſt the natural, odious deformity of ſin.

They

They did indeed acknowledge, that the *many painful obſervances* of *the religion they had relinquiſhed*, (p. 331), did but keep men in ignorance of the ſpirituality of religion, and could never produce that ſaving converſion, which could ariſe only from conviction of ſin. *The myſteries of religion*, they inculcated upon the foot they found them placed in the goſpel, as articles of faith ſupported by rational evidence, and contradictory neither to reaſon, nor *the experience of their ſenſes*. *In the euchariſt*, they conſidered the virtual energy of Chriſt's preſence in that *federal rite*, which they deemed, the *repreſentative application* of their Redeemer's death and paſſion, *the memorial* of reconciliation with God thereby effected, and the *open acknowledgments* of bleſſings expected from, and ſecured to mankind by the merits of it. They alſo laid before their hearers the progreſſive and iniquitous ſteps which the ambitious Pontifs of *Rome* had taken in the *iron ages of ignorance and barbariſm*, (p. 3), to maintain their unauthoriſed power and grandeur; which was firſt beſtowed upon them by a tyrant who had murdered his maſter. And what was very extraordinary, that this temporal power of the *vice-gerent* of HIM, who declared *his kingdom was not of this world*, commenced in the ſame century, and almoſt at the ſame time, with the impoſtor *Mahomet*: that each of them pretended to infallibility and univerſal ſupremacy; and each propagated

their

their claims, *by the like method*, fire and ſword.

If therefore the *innovators*, as Mr. *P.* is fond of calling them, were men of *degenerate morals*, they were ſo againſt knowledge and conviction, and againſt every motive which could make ſin appear in all its horrors. They had in this *new faith* (if it muſt be ſo termed) no ſalvos for an ambiguous repentance: perſonal and perſevering ſanctity of life could only, they were told, inſure their future happineſs. But the candid Mr. *P*, that he may not be thought to have aſſerted any thing raſhly, brings his demonſtration of this *viſible degeneracy: the Lutheran magiſtrates of the imperial cities*, ſays this bold aſſertor, *petitioned Charles* V. *to cauſe auricular confeſſion to be re-eſtabliſhed by his authority, as the people were remarkably more licentious ſince it had been diſuſed*, (p. 330).

This extraordinary article of intelligence, for which no proof is brought, has hitherto eſcaped the notice of other hiſtorians. Had our author procured the depoſition of any of *the ſpectators*, we ſhould not have known what to have replied: or rather, had he known more of the hiſtory of thoſe times, he would not have been ſo poſitive. When the Emperor, to gratify the *ſpiritual father of the church*, had entered into a religious war againſt the *proteſtant* princes and ſtates in *Germany*, and fought to bring back by military arguments, into the pale of the church, thoſe

thoſe apoſtates, and their heretical ſubjects, he compelled the places, which fell into his hands, to receive his *new confeſſion of faith*, called the *interim*; that accommodating, healing *creed*, which was to be received, till the Pope and a *Council* ſhould ſettle religion. In ſome places he was obliged to change the magiſtrates before he could carry his point [1]: and the following cities petitioned him, that they might *ſtill* enjoy the *Augsburgh* confeſſion, and that their religion ſhould *not* be altered, *viz. Memingen, Bibrach, Ravenſburg, Kempen, Iſne, Strasburgh*, and *Conſtance* [2]. So that we may fairly conclude, Mr. *P's ſpectators* did not ſee *this* depravity in all the imperial cities. Inferior cities indeed, who could make no reſiſtance, were forced to acquieſce and obey the Emperor, who was more ſucceſsful and expeditious in enacting his decrees, than the council of *Trent* was theirs; the miſſionaries of the former converting more with their muskets, than the Pope, in the latter, with his canons: though after all, as the deputies of *Strasburgh* told *Granvill*, the Emperor's prime miniſter, "A "man might be burnt to death," (or knocked on the head, which is the ſame thing) "but

1 *Augsburgh* and *Ulm*. *Thuanus*, *lib.* 5. A. D. 1548. *Sleidan*, b. 21. p. 469. 472.

2 *Thuanus*, *lib.* 4. A. D. 1547. *Sleidan*, b. 18. p. 416. b. 20. p. 464. b. 21. p. 469, 478, & 485.

"that

" that he could not be forced to believe other-
" wiſe than he did[1]."

At laſt, after many fruitleſs *projects* of *three pontificates*, (p. 331), and when eight years of the *fourth* had paſſed *with the ſame irreſolution*, (p. 332), a general council was determined to be held. And the city of *Trent* was pitched upon, as the moſt convenient for that purpoſe, which, Mr. *P.* ſays, is *not ſubject to any ſovereign*, (p. 333): tho' *Sleidan* aſſures us, it was under the dominion of *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, and of the *Romans*[2]. But as he was an enemy and perſecutor of the reformers, they had good reaſon to object to that place, though their objections were over-ruled. The Pope, to ſhew his deſire of a council, *nominated* three legates to open it, *viz.* the cardinals *Morone*, *Paris*, and *Pole*. Of theſe, the firſt was the chief or preſident[3]. And the laſt of them, amongſt other advantages, was, as our author tells us, *known to the northern nations for his lenity, and eſteemed and beloved by them for it*, (p. 333). But as Mr. *P*, in the pro-

1 *Sleidan*, b. 20. p. 466.

2 *Idem.* b. 14. p. 292. And *Pallavicini* ſays, it was *urbs Ferdinando beneficiaria*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 17. *n.* 8. Since the treaty of *Munſter*, the biſhop of *Trent* is ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, having before been ſubject to the patriarch of *Aquileia*. It is in the *Auſtrian* dominions in *Germany*, on the river *Adige* or *Etſch*, *Atheſis* ſays Mr. *P.* He might as well ſay; *London* is waſhed by the river *Thamiſis*.

3 *Morono præcipue . . . . legatio concilii demandata, quaſi inter collegas principi.* *Pallav. lib.* 5. *c.* 1. *n.* 7.

greſs

greſs of this life, has not made any mention of *Pole's* travels in the *North*; and as, amongſt his letters publiſhed by *Quirini*, there are none from any *Northern* correſpondents; we may ask, how the *Northern* countries could know ſo well a man, who appears to have been an utter ſtranger to them. Unleſs Mr. *P.* reckons every country a *Northern* one, that lies *North* of *Rome*: but we can hardly think ſo accurate a writer would expreſs himſelf in ſo vague a manner, when he was writing, not in *Italy*, but in *England*. As he took the characters of the other legates from *Pallavicini*, he had better have contented himſelf with what is there ſaid of his hero, and is expreſſive enough [1], than to have attempted to have added any thing of his own, or at leaſt, nothing but what was conſiſtent with his own narration in the courſe of his hiſtory.

The patent for this commiſſion being made out, (p. 333, 334), the legates went to *Trent*, and opened the council, "and ſtaid idling "there for ſeven months [2]:" and no biſhops coming, they were forced, through mere ſhame, to diſſolve their little aſſembly [3]. Thus, to uſe our hiſtorian's words, *the general*

1 *Alter Polus, in theologia naviter verſatus, & morum ſanctitate, ſplendore ſanguinis, et exilii atque ærumnarum gloria, quas pro Romana ſede tuenda tolerabat, cunctis venerabilis. Lib.* 5. *c.* 1. *n.* 7.

2 *Legatos ſeptem ipſos menſes Tridenti plane otiatos. Idem. lib.* 5. *c.* 4. *n.* 19. 3 *Idem. ibid.*

welfare

welfare of chriſtianity was at a ſtand from conſiderations which ought not to have influenced their conduct, who were entruſted with the chief government of it, (p. 336). As this reflection is ſo ſevere a cenſure upon the heads and rulers of his church, we leave him to be chaſtiſed by the zealots of his own party, for this full *diſcovery of his father's ignominy*, (2[d] p[t], p. 226).

The breathing time that our cardinal had after this diſſolution, giveth his hiſtorian the opportunity to leave him at *his uſual ſtudies*, (p. 339), and return to *England:* where *Henry*, he ſays, *exhibited a ſcene of rapacity and ſacrilege, which, till then, had wanted a precedent, and, for the honour of human nature, has not been copied ſince*, (p. 336). And this was the diſſolution of the *leſſer tenements* (p. 337) of religion, ſuch as colleges, chantries, guilds, *&c.* Here again our author's old aſſiſtant, Mr. *Dod*, furniſhes him with his quota of materials: but though he kindly ſupplied him with every thing relating to *theſe eſtabliſhments* (except the account of guilds, taken from *Dugdale*) yet is he kept, as before, behind the curtain, and moſt ungratefully deprived of the thanks due for his ſervices[1]. The collegiate foundations were quickly put out of their pain. All that was intended, with regard to them, was, to put them upon a more ſecure eſtabliſhment, that,

1 *Dod*, v. 1. p. 115, 116.

the uſeleſs donations of ſuperſtition being lopped off, the cultivation of true virtue and knowledge might meet with the due encouragement ſuch foundations deſerved, which were dedicated to the ſervice of God, and the education of youth.

The motive alledged for the diſſolution of the chantries, guilds, *&c.* was not *the expence* the King *had been at in diſſolving monaſteries, and reforming abuſes in the church*, (p. 337), (this is Mr. *Dod's* embelliſhment) but the King's expences in his wars with *France* and *Scotland*, the miſmanagement of their governors, and the miſemployment of their revenues[1]. "The chantry-lands," ſays *Collier*, "were given for the benefit of the dead, "and ſettled, as it were, upon the other "world . . . And as Popes have often taken "money to let ſouls out of purgatory, ſo the "King took *land*, one would almoſt think, "to keep them *in*[2]." And as indulgences had of late years been ſo largely granted, the parliament perhaps thought with *Eraſmus*, that purgatory might be almoſt ſtripped of its inhabitants[3]: and as its very exiſtence was called in queſtion, there was therefore the leſs occaſion for money and *maſſes*, to pray departed ſouls out of a place, they might never have been in; and ſo, to ſave their own

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 207. 2 *Idim. ibid.*

3 *Eraſmi opp. tom.* v. *c.* 359. Cited by Dr. *Jortin*, life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1. p. 114. Note.

eſtates,

eſtates, made over to him the property of the dead. But death prevented *Henry* from taking poſſeſſion of theſe *lands*, " which *Ed-* " *ward* VI's miniſtry had the credit and pro- " fit of [1]."

But beſides this, the biſhops of his own new foundation *were ſo impoveriſhed*, it ſeems, *that the firſt incumbents lived on the benevolence of their clergy, and other well-diſpoſed perſons*, (p. 337). Here Mr. *Dod's* zeal carried him a little too far, for he is not uſually guilty of ſuch miſtakes, and has led our author, who knew no better, into the ſame error. The reference, in both theſe hiſtorians, is made to the ſame place in *Collier*; who, in his account of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſpeaking of the miſchiefs done to the biſhoprics of *Henry* VIII's erection, does ſay this of thoſe biſhops, who, in the courſe of *her reign*, were advanced to thoſe ſees [2]; and cites *Heylin*, as his voucher [3]. But this havoc of the revenues of thoſe ſees, not being made in *Henry's* reign, is impertinently and invidiouſly brought in to aſperſe that King, for what he did not do. Mr. *Dod* is indeed principally to anſwer for this blunder: it was copied from him. And Mr. *P*, rejoiced to find ſuch a charge againſt *Henry*; and above conſulting the authority

1 *Dod*, v. 1. p. 347. 2 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 480.
3 *Heylin*, hiſt. of Queen *Elizabeth*, p. 156, 157. No reference to page in *Collier*.

he appealed to, ventured to improve the invective, and to fix the *odium* more clearly upon the King: he alters *new biſhops*, into *firſt incumbents*; and, after the words, *benevolence of their clergy*, adds, out of the fertility of his own invention, *and other well diſpoſed perſons*.

The King, it is aſſerted, *cauſed the parliament to give him* 70 *manors belonging to* the ſee of *York*: and Mr. *Dod*, (to ſpeak tenderly) in ſaying this, and that the archbiſhop had very little in exchange, has acted very unfairly. But this laſt particular our better informed hiſtorian drops, though *Collier*, Mr. *Dod's* oracle, ſays, that the archbiſhop had *ſeveral* lands, *&c.* in exchange [1]; which, *Heylin* ſays, were of the like yearly value, but of an extended rent [2]. *Cranmer* too *gave up twelve* manors *belonging to Canterbury*; and *Bonner*, ſays Mr. *Dod*, (which is omitted here) was obliged to do the like with ſome belonging to *London*; to which I add, from *Heylin*, " but not without ſome reaſonable " compenſation, or allowance for them." And *Cranmer* remonſtrated againſt it [3]. *The large poſſeſſions*, alſo, *of Durham were, many years, ſecularized*, (p. 337). In whoſe reign? not in *Henry's*. Therefore our two catholic hiſtorians ſhould not have placed it here, to

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 207.
2 *Heylin*, hiſt. *Edward* VI. p. 18.
3 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 214.

aggravate

aggravate *his* ſacrilege; nor indeed any where elſe, for it never took place. In *Edward* VIth's reign, ſomething was done, which, if no more than the title of an act of parliament be read, does look a little like it. In the laſt year of that young King, a bill was paſſed for the *ſuppreſſion* of the biſhopric of *Durham* —— but it was, *to found two new ſees*, with deans and chapters out of it. "The temporalities, indeed, were *ſecularized*, "turned wholly to a county palatine, and "given to the duke of *Northumberland*. — "But that the grant was executed in form of "law, is more than appears[1]." And the *many years* it was thus *ſecularized*, could not be more than two months at moſt, if at all: for the grant was made in *May*, and the King died the *July* following, ſo that both theſe deſigns proved abortive[2].

After this ſpurt againſt the King of *England*, we return to the ſubject of the hiſtory. Peace being now concluded between the Emperor, and the King of *France*; and thoſe princes being ſolicitous for the calling of a council: the Pope, after much *ſeeming reluctance and delays*, (p. 354), ſummoned one to meet again at the ſame place as before; and made our cardinal a ſecond time one of the legates, who, that himſelf and his *aſſociates* might have the higheſt notion of the

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 326, 327.
2 *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 215, 216.

importance of their commiſſion, *employed* a little *leiſure* time *in compoſing a work on the nature and end of general councils*, (p. 340). A pretty, florid, and harmleſs compoſition truly! which, as if it was deſigned only for true and truſty friends, proceeds altogether upon borrowed principles, and argues from them, as if they were inconteſtibly allowed: And however the author might be admired at *Rome* or *Trent*, he muſt not expect the ſame complaiſance from thoſe, who will require not *ſounds but things*, not words, but arguments. Such inquirers will, at firſt view, diſcover the cardinal legate to go, in this treatiſe, upon the ſame principles he went in his book *on the church's unity*; and that, ſo far from *avoiding all extreme opinions*, (p. 350), he inculcates, with equal arrogance[1], the boundleſs *prerogative of the ſee of Rome*; and in defiance of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, his fancy and his prejudices ran away with his judgment: and the bold aſſertor, the weak reaſoner, and the abſurd interpreter of SS, characteriſe the author of this ſpecious performance.

Whilſt *Pole* ſtaid behind at *Rome* after his colleagues, and amuſed himſelf in writing the treatiſe we have been ſpeaking of, his holineſs allowed the other legates time to learn the leſſon which their aſſociate had kindly

1 See a ſmall inſtance of this hinted at before, p. 130. and Mr. *P's* own extract of the treatiſe itſelf.

compoſed

compoſed for them; for it was nine months after their arrival at *Trent*, before they proceeded upon buſineſs. But how conſummate in the mean time, muſt the wickedneſs and diſſimulation of the court of *Rome* be! The legates, thoſe *angels of peace* (p. 350), as they are hypocritically ſtiled, were ſent to *Trent*, ſaith the junior legate *Pole*, among other things to revive *decayed diſcipline*, to prevent the *increaſe of hereſy*, and reform the *extremely corrupt manners of the chriſtian world*, (p. 348). And yet they remained there, for a long time together, in an intirely torpid ſtate. And why? Becauſe his holineſs had other game to play, and was taking more effectual methods to carry theſe points. He did not know, but, (for all their objections to the place) the *Lutherans* might appear, and defend their doctrine: he did not know, how forcible their reaſoning, or their eloquence, might be: he did not care to truſt the cauſe of the church altogether to a promiſcuous aſſembly; the *Spaniſh*, and *French* biſhops might be refractory, and join the diſcontented party. This *guardian* therefore *and paſtor of the church — exerted* his hierarchical *office* (p. 345), in ſecuring the Emperor at all events; and ſent his grandſon *cardinal Farneſe to Worms* (p. 351), to treat with his imperial Majeſty to join their forces, and by the arm of the fleſh to confute the hereties[1].

[1] *Pallav. lib.* 5. *c.* 13. *n.* 1.

And we are further informed of the satisfaction the Pope took, at being assured the Emperor would draw his sword against them: but this was to be kept a profound secret; and that the council should not enter upon the dispatch of business, till matters were ripe, lest the Protestants should be made desperate; but, however, that so much of it might transpire, as should intimidate them[1]. But, as this would not tell well in a protestant country, our candid and equitable historian intirely omits it, though *Pallavicini* (whom he closely follows) has not scrupled to relate it in his history of the council.—— Such were the honest and christian arts employed by him, who called himself the *first bishop of the christian world*; and to whom *Pole*, at this very time, was not ashamed to address himself in such words and language, *which cannot be read without horrour* (p^{t} 2^{d} p. 241). To say to him, *Quem secundum Deum patrem & Dei patris locum & vices in terris gerentem agnoscimus*[2], is a profaneness, that all the dignity of the purple cannot excuse.

Thus it should seem, that those *angels of peace*, who were sent *to preside at the council*, (p. 350), were only appointed as masks to conceal the mean artifices and low designs of the pretended father of the church. From the very tenor of their instructions, it does not

1 *Id. ibid. n.* 4, 5.
2. *Poli ep. Paulo* III. *Quir. v.* 4. *p.* 35.

appear,

appear, that any lenient meaſures would be propoſed; the authority of the holy ſee was to be eſtabliſhed, and *the refractory and rebellious* OF WHAT CONDITION SOEVER, were to be *repreſſed by cenſures and eccleſiaſtical puniſhments* (p. 351). But as to the examination of articles of faith, or the diſcuſſion of what the proteſtants required, nothing leſs was deſigned; nothing leſs would be permitted: the legates were to propoſe every thing, and to deliver — his holineſs's determination. And therefore to ſhorten debates, and ſecure a majority, they *ſignified to the Pope — that it would be proper to appoint a treaſurer, with a fund ſufficient to anſwer* the *exigencies* (p. 351) of neceſſitous and dependent biſhops. And not long after *Pole's* arrival in *Trent*, the legates gave it as their opinion to the Pope, that the *Lutheran* hereſy, and the wickedneſs and enormities committed by the King of *England*, ſhould be firſt preſented, in form of a petition or complaint, to the animadverſion of the council [1]. By this we may judge, how free a council this was like to be.

Our author, willing to diſplay his erudition, whilſt he was in ſuch good humour with the Emperor and the King of *France*, compares the behaviour of thoſe moſt pious and reſpectable princes, with *Conſtantine's* de-

1 Extracts from letters written to *Rome* from *Trent*, by the legates. *Quir.* v. 3. p. 212.

portment

portment *at the council of Nice* (p. 353), whoſe very chriſtianity has been called in queſtion by ſome of the greateſt names in the *Romiſh* church.[1] And this we confeſs is done with great juſtice and propriety, as all the three princes were equally tormented with the violence and the ſquabbles of the eccleſiaſtics of their times; and found it neceſſary, upon particular occaſions, to court their good will. But if the conduct of *Paul* III, at the council of *Trent*, be compared with that of *Alexander* biſhop of *Alexandria*, the greateſt metropolitan in the world[2]; the former will not appear to much advantage, as making himſelf both judge and party: whereas the other, having before cenſured *Arius*, and condemned his doctrine in his own provincial ſynod, at *Alexandria*, is ſaid to have declined the honour of preſiding at *Nice*; perhaps to obviate the complaints of the *Arians*, who looked upon him as a party, and highly prejudiced againſt them[2].

This example *Paul* ſhould have followed. The proteſtants denied his ſupremacy; and deſired a general free council, wherein they might appear, not as accuſed in order to be condemned, but as propounders of doctrines founded on SS, reaſon, and antiquity; and willing, as diſputants, to enter into a thorough canvaſs and examination of them.

1 *Bingham*, eccleſ. ant. v. 1. b. 2. c. 16. ſect. 23.

2 *Bower's* lives of the Popes, v. 1. p. 130. 8*vo*. *Dub.* edit.

Here

Here then was an error at firſt ſetting out, which could not but widen the breach, *viz.* the Pope's ſummoning the council, in his own name, and by his own authority, when that *very power* was one of the conteſted articles; and it was manifeſt, the whole would be conducted under the influence and direction of *him*, who could make and reward biſhops for their ſervices. They were ſenſible indeed, that the Popes, for many years, had aſſumed the power of convening ſuch religious aſſemblies, but they knew, that from the beginning it was not ſo; that the Emperors and princes had, in more primitive times, exerted this part of their regal prerogative. They knew likewiſe, that this firſt general council of *Nice* was ſummoned immediately by *Conſtantine*, not by the biſhop of *Rome*, who neither preſided at it in perſon, or by his legates; for, properly ſpeaking, the Emperor preſided himſelf. But as far as ſuch a diſtant fact can be aſcertained: many antient writers affirm, that *Euſtathius*, biſhop of *Antioch*, took the lead; ſat firſt on the right hand in the aſſembly; and did all the duties of the Preſident's office [1]. So that here appears nothing of the biſhop of *Rome's* vicarial authority: neither did his deputies ſign the canons firſt.

To return to the buſineſs of the council, (p.

1 See the authorities for this cited in *Richardſon's Præl. Eccleſ.* v. 1. *De Nicæno concilio*, p. 273. and others cited in *Bower's* lives of the Popes, p. 129. 8vo. *Dub.* edit.

352) before us. The legates, as was before obſerved, had been at *Trent* ever ſince the beginning of *March*; and it was towards the middle of *December* before *they opened the council* (p. 354); and though they had been there all that time, there was but a very inconſiderable appearance to proceed upon buſineſs: but their number being increaſed, after paſſing ſome inconſiderable decrees, and confirming the *Nicene* creed, they proceeded to conſider the canonical books of SS, and the authority of tradition, wherein the latter, after a very faint oppoſition, *was put upon an equal footing with the revealed will of God*[1]. The biſhop of *Clogge (Clodienſis)* venturing, to the aſtoniſhment and horror of the reſt, to call this *an impious decree*, was ſeverely treated by the council, and looked upon with an evil eye, as wavering in his religion[2]: and we are further informed, that when the canon paſſed, his aſſent was not expreſſed, by the uſual term *placet*, but, *obediam*[3]. The biſhops of *Fieſole* and *Aſturia* being ſomewhat offended at this jargon about traditions, and whether the word apoſtolical ſhould be inſerted or no, complained, that they had met to treat conjointly of faith and diſcipline, but, that now, one was only attended to; not without a fling of incon-

1 *Pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia. Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* 4. *Decretum de Canonicis. SS.*

2 *Pallav. lib.* 6. *c.* 14. *n.* 4. *& lib.* 7. *c.* 4. *n.* 13.

3 *Id. lib.* 6. *c.* 11. *n.* 9.

ſtancy,

had never made their appearance in *Germany*, for then the church would not have been ſo much diſturbed as it is [1]. The matter, however, was dropped; and *Pacheco* received a reprimand, for treſpaſſing upon the legates privileges, and propoſing a queſtion [2].

But however *Madrucci* might think it proper to reſtrain the indiſcreet zeal of his brother cardinal, yet he did but ſpeak the language of his church; and it was not without great reaſon, that cardinal *Ximenes* ſaid, that the having the S S. in the vulgar language would ſpoil their religion [3]. Thus too the tranſlators of the *Rhemiſh* teſtament confeſs, that they do not publiſh their tranſlation " upon erroneous opinion of neceſſity, that " the SS. ſhould be always in our mother " tongue, or that they ought, or were or- " dained of God, to be read indifferently of " all . . . . But upon ſpecial conſideration " of our country, unto which, divers things " are either neceſſary, or profitable, and me- " dicinable now, that otherwiſe in the peace " of the church were neither much requiſite, " nor perchance wholly tolerable [4]." And to this purpoſe, Mr. *P.* hath added the weight of his own teſtimony, by ſuch an aukward apology for *Pacheco's* propoſition, which, if

1 *Id. ibid. c.* 12. *n.* 5. 2 *Id. ibid. c.* 15. *n.* 3.

3 *Geddes's* methods of the *Roman* church to keep her people in ignorance, p. 5. In the 3d vol. of his tracts.

4 Preface, p. 2.

accepted,

accepted, will make *ignorance the mother of devotion* (p. 356, 357).

To all theſe great names, we will only oppoſe the authority of a modern author, (well known to Mr. *P.* himſelf) *in a diſcourſe on the ſtudy of ſacred literature*; who aſſures us, " that divinity is not that abſtruſe and " inacceſſible thing the laity are apt to ima- " gine it, but a ſcience full of light and ſa- " tisfaction, adapted even to moderate capa- " cities, attainable by moderate application, " and ſuitable in ſome degree to men of all " profeſſions, who have had a liberal educa- " tion, have leiſure to read, and a diſpoſi- " tion to reflect. St. *Auſtin* and St. *Hierom* " explained the moſt difficult parts of SS. to " courtiers, officers of the army, and gover- " nors of provinces; and the latter doctor " performed the ſame offices to *Roman* ladies " of the firſt quality, not thinking the em- " ployment unbecoming himſelf or them."— The ſame author goes on, and adviſes (though with ſome reſtrictions) " his fair country- " women, that ſome of that time, which " they ſeem ſo much at a loſs to fill up, " ſhould be given to an humble and atten- " tive reading of the SS[1]:" which he after- wards calls " the ſoul of all eccleſiaſtical " learning[2];" and tells us elſewhere in the

1 The ſtudy of ſacred literature, in a diſcourſe to a ſtu- dent in divinity, at a foreign univerſity, by *T. P. S. C. T.* p. 167, 168. Second edition.

2 *Idem.* p. 198.

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ſame book, that " we ſhould converſe with " them often, we ſhould pierce into their " ſoul and ſpirit, we ſhould contemplate " them on all ſides, in all their parts and in " the whole, and accuſtom ourſelves to judge " and decide of matters by their light, as we " do of outward objects by the ſun-beams [1]." Thus much that author, whom fame reports to be no leſs a man than Mr. *P.* himſelf.

After *this ſhort digreſſion*, as our author calls it, (p. XXIII. Table of contents), we are ſummoned to attend the council. But as we do not propoſe to diſcuſs every tranſaction of this aſſembly, there is nothing material to ſtop us till the article of juſtification comes to be conſidered; which, as being the corner ſtone of the difference between the two religions, *the fatal ſtumbling-block to Germany* (p. 366), was entered upon, for very particular reaſons, with great ſpirit. For we learn, not from Mr. *P.* (for obvious reaſons) but from *Pallavicini*, that when the legates were informed of the league between the Pope and the Emperor, againſt the proteſtants, " tho' " they conſidered the uncertainty of war, " yet as there were no hopes in time of " peace of reconciling *Germany*, which would " die of a fever if the ſword was not drawn; " they comforted themſelves, that the coun- " cil would now be confirmed by ſtrength " of arms, and do their buſineſs with vi-

1 *Idem.* p. 26.

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" gour and reſolution, when their court " ſhould have a powerful army for its appa- " ritors, and *Charles* V. himſelf would be " the executioner of its decrees [1]."

As this holy aſſembly was now certain of being well ſupported, one would have imagined they would have proceeded as briskly in the debate concerning juſtification, as they began; but ſo it was, that with all their wiſdom, and all their power, it was ſeveral months [2], before the decree was paſſed and agreed to. Our *Engliſh* cardinal had left *Trent* before this doctrine was canvaſſed: but as he was not at any great diſtance, the legates conſulted him upon the occaſion; who waved giving his opinion, as his indiſpoſition rendered him unable to think or write upon a

1 *Pallav. lib.* 8. *c.* 1. *n.* 3. at the concluſion. The principal articles of the treaty were:

(1) That the Emperor ſhould compel the heretics to return to the true and old religion, and to the intire obedience to the holy apoſtolical ſee.

(2) That the Pope ſhould advance 100,000 crowns, which with the ſame ſum before contributed, ſhould be expended in the war.

(3) That he ſhould maintain at his own expence for ſix months 12,000 foot and 500 horſe.

(4) That he ſhould give the Emperor one half year's revenues of the church benefices all over *Spain*, and permit him to ſell as much of the abbey lands as would amount to 500,000 ducats —— but upon ſecurity of repayment.

See alſo *Sleidan*, b. 17. p. 381, 382. who in the further progreſs of his hiſtory relates the actions of this religious war.

2 From the beginning of *June* 1546 to the middle of *January* 1547.

ſubject of ſuch importance, though he would ſoon communicate his opinion *viva voce*[1]: which he did a few days after by doctor *Moriglia*. Now though it doth not appear of what profeſſion this doctor was; yet Mr. *P.* tells us, he was *a doctor of divinity, with whom Pole was particularly acquainted*, (p. 367); that is, one of his domeſtics, as the cardinal himſelf calls him[2]. From theſe ſlight *documents*, and becauſe the *decree, as it now ſtands, was found among the cardinal's papers . . . . and was written at full length, in his own hand* (p. 369); our biographer collects, that it *furniſhes a ſtrong preſumption that the fathers of the council judged . . . the alterations he propoſed, the moſt proper to define, confirm, and explain the truths contained in it* (p. 369): and then triumphantly concludeth, that without all doubt it was ſo. *Nor can any inſtance*, ſays this fulſome flatterer, *do more honour to his memory, than that the whole catholic church ſhould conſider him as a particular inſtrument of the divine ſpirit, in declaring a doctrine ſo much contradicted by the innovators, and on which ſo venerable a body as the council of Trent ſhould defer to his opinion with ſuch a ſignification of their eſteem* (p. 369). *Quirini*, who had theſe letters before him, and conſidered the particulars, and is as eager to offer up incenſe to the memory

1 *Poli ep. Quir. v. 4. p. 199, 200.*
2 *Mando il dottor Moriglia mio familiare. Id. ibid.*

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of *Pole* as Mr. *P*, insinuates no such thing; neither doth it appear, that the cardinal communicated his sentiments in writing, only that he commissioned *Moriglia* to relate his opinion of the decree: but a compliment paid to his hero, is never lost by our writer. I cannot here but inform the reader, that *that venerable body the council of Trent*, who esteemed *Pole* so highly, and passed this important decree, consisted only of 4 cardinals, 10 archbishops, and 45 bishops [1], who were, as our writer stiles them — *the whole catholic* church.

We have been before told, that *the precision, order, and perspicuity, with which* this decree *is delivered, have been the admiration of all, who have read it with attention* (p. 368). If it was so wonderfully clear, how came it to be so fiercely contested throughput? How came two of the venerable fathers to fight about it [2]? How came there to be such heats and contentions between three of the cardinals [3]? How came *Soto*, *Catharinus*, and *Vega* [4], to dispute so much about it during the debate, and when it was determined, still to misunderstand its meaning, to enter into a controversy upon it, and

1 *Pallav. lib.* 8. *c.* 18. *n.* 10. *Dupin.* eccles. hist. 16 cent. 2^d p^t b. 3. p. 47.

2 The bishops of *Cavia*, and *Chiozza*. *Pallav. lib.* 8. *c.* 6. *n.* 1.

3 The cardinals *del Monte*, *Madrucci*, and *Pacheco*. *Id. ibid. c.* 7. *n.* 9—12.

4 *Ib. c.* 12. *n.* 15.

in vindication of their reſpective contrary notions, to appeal to this *inſpired council* about the meaning of this their own decree, which the fathers with all their *ſupernatural aſſiſtance*, neither did nor could decide? If the *preciſion*, and *perſpicuity* of this decree be ſo apparent, whence could ariſe that continued diſpute amongſt their own writers, what was the intention of the council in aſſerting that good works of juſtified perſons do *merit* eternal life, and in denouncing an *anathema* againſt thoſe who deny it[1]? or whether this *merit* was *merit* of *congruity* or *condignity*[2]? The council might ſurely have expreſſed themſelves in clearer terms, and given ſatisfaction: but the rule they went by, in this and all their decrees, was, to give up nothing, but to eſtabliſh every thing that was called in queſtion; and rather by ſcholaſtic ſubtleties to leave it diſputable, than to ſeem to approach to any accommodations with their adverſaries. — If now, it is any honour to *Pole* to have been concerned in the framing this decree — let him have it.

After paſſing this decree, and ſome rules concerning diſcipline and reformation, the council proceeded to conſider *the doctrine of the ſacraments in general* (p. 371), wherein, inſtead of explaining them, the fathers con-

1 *Conc. Trid. ſeſs.* 6. *c.* 16. *& canon.* 32.

2 See ſufficient proof of this in *Stillingfleet's* Council of *Trent* examined and diſproved by catholic tradition. Art. 4, of the merit of good works, p. 59.

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tented themſelves with denouncing *anathemas* againſt thoſe who did not hold them in the ſenſe of the church, and the deniers of the *ſeptenary* number of them. A figment this never heard of till towards the latter end of the 12th century: and the earlieſt and higheſt authority that *Bellarmine* is able to produce, is that of *Peter Lombard*, the maſter of the ſentences [1], (for the authority of SS. is out of the queſtion) which that cardinal further ſupports by moſt cogent, and undeniable arguments drawn from *congruities*, ſuch as, the reſemblance of the ſpiritual and natural life in *ſeven* particulars, the *ſeven* deadly ſins, the *ſeven* virtues, the frequent mention of the number *ſeven* in the *Jewiſh* laws of atonement; and he concludes, that the SS. ſeem to declare, that there would be a time when God would provide *ſeven* eminent and efficacious remedies for the expiation of ſins [2]. When the cardinal was upon the proofs of congruities, he might have added the *ſeven* wiſe men, the *ſeven* wonders of the world, and the *ſeven* ſleepers [3], *&c*; and they would have done full as well. Upon ſuch weighty

1. *Bellarmini cont. v. 3. de ſacram. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 238.*
2. *Id. ibid. c. 26. p. 240.*
3. To perpetuate the memorial of theſe ſeven ſleeping ſaints, there was a ſervice in the old *Romiſh* ritual upon the 27th of *July*. See the collect and leſſons for that feſtival, extracted from the *Saliſbury* breviary and miſſal, in reflections on the devotions of the *Roman* church, p. 98 *et ſeq.*

conſiderations was this made an article of faith, and fortified by ſtrong *anathemas*.

When this decree was paſſed, the Pope, not being thoroughly ſatisfied either with the legates or the council, and as little pleaſed with the Emperor's conduct, removed the council from *Trent*, (the apprehenſion of an epidemical diſtemper ſerving for the pretence) to *Bologna*; but not without great oppoſition from *Pacheco*, and the imperial party, who could not be prevailed upon to leave *Trent*. But as the Pope had for ſome time harboured ſtrong reſentments againſt the Emperor, he was reſolved the removal ſhould take place. And the breach was widened by the *miſunderſtanding* which *broke out between* them *on account of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia* (372), now vacant by the murther of that infamous and abominable wretch, *Peter Lewis Farneſe*, his holineſs's favourite ſon; and as he was not without ſuſpicion, that the Emperor was privy to, or connived at the aſſaſſination [1]. He determined therefore to court the alliance, and enter into a league with the King of *France*; and therefore the Emperor's proteſt againſt the removal of the council, both at *Bologna* and *Rome*, was diſregarded; and the reply made to them was expreſſed in ſuch high and offenſive language [2], that the Emperor deter-

1 *Sleidan*, b. 19. p. 438, 439. *Thuan. lib.* 4. A. D. 1547.

2 *Sleidan*, b. 20. p. 450---453. *Thuanus, lib.* 5. A. D. 1548.

mined to turn reformer, and ſettle religion himſelf; and publiſhed that *formulary of faith and diſcipline* called *the Interim* (p. 377), which equally offended the friends of the reformation and the *Romiſh* faith [1].

The ſchiſm in the council ſtill continuing, the prelates of the papal faction, *who were all Italians* (p. 378), doing nothing at *Bologna*; and thoſe who remained at *Trent*, refuſing to obey any orders the Pope ſent them [2]: his holineſs found himſelf obliged to ſuſpend the council to the great mortification of *Pole*, who could not help bemoaning the fate of religion and the church (p. 379). Though his tears were ſoon dried up: for in the midſt of theſe diſputes the Pope died, whoſe end was haſtened by the undutiful behaviour of one of his ſons. Such was the end of that active Pontif *Paul* III, the friend and patron of cardinal *Pole*. A man he was, undoubtedly of great abilities: but the general cha-

1548. who after ſaying that the reply to *Mendoza's* proteſt at *Rome*, was, as he learned from *Beccacelli*, drawn up by *Pole*, adds out of compaſſion to the cardinal "*Deplorandæ* "*ſane tanti viri conditionis, cui neceſſe fuerit, ut ſectarii* "*mali ſuſpicionem, cujus falſo inſimulabatur, purgaret, pon-* "*tifici in ea cauſa, in qua minime illum verſari ſciret, in-* "*duſtriam ſuam elocaret.*". A reflection this not greatly to the honour of the *Engliſh* cardinal, but formed from his true character.

1 *Thuan. ibid.* *Sleidan*, b. 20. p. 457, *& ſeq.* *Moſheim*, v. 2. p. 62, 63. and the note. *Dupin.* 16 cent. v. 2. b. 3. c. 5. throughout. p. 83, *&c.* *Pallav. lib.* 10. *c.* 17, *n.* 7. *& lib.* 11. *c.* 1. *n.* 4.

2 *Dupin. ibid. p.* 90. *Pallav. lib.* 10. *c.* 15. *n.* 3, 4,

racter which hiſtorians of credit give him, is, that he was remarkable for cunning and diſſimulation; ever intent upon projects of power and ambition; and ſo immoderately bent upon raiſing the fortunes of his illegitimate offspring[1], as reflected farther diſgrace upon the author of their birth; which occaſioned his enemies to expoſe his enormous lewdneſſes, in one of the ſevereſt ſatires, that was ever levelled againſt a public character[2]. *Quirini*, however, of late years, has entered warmly into his defence; has exhibited him as the model of an all-accompliſhed Pope[3]; and, in his controverſy with *Keiſling*, *Schelhorn*, and others, "has uſed his utmoſt efforts to defend the "probity and merit of this Pontif; while "the two learned men above mentioned re"preſent him as a perfidious politician, whoſe "predominant qualities were diſſimulation "and fraud[4]."

After much ſtruggling in the conclave, cardinal *del Monte* ſucceeded to the papal chair, by the name of *Julius* III; who had the bleſſed opportunity, immediately *after his coronation* (p. 382), of exhibiting his pontifical authority in full ſplendour; for *the ju-*

1 *Pallav. lib.* 11. *c.* 6. *n.* 4. *Thuan. lib.* 4. A. D. 1547.
2 *Sleidan*, b. 21. p. 487. *Thuan. lib.* 6. A. D. 1549.
3 *Quirini, Imago optimi Pontificis expreſſa in geſtis Pauli III. Brixiæ*, 1745, 4*to*. But ſays *Walch* (hiſt. of the Popes, p. 256, Note) in this picture the artiſt too often flatters his original.
4 *Moſheim*, *v.* 2. *p.* 97. Note. See *Keiſlingii epiſtola de geſtis Pauli III.*—*Schelhorn amæn. hiſt. eccleſ. & lit.*

bilee

bilee was opened with the uſual ſolemnity (p. 382); that pompous farce, that inſult to devotion, invented by the deteſtable *Boniface* VIII: an inſtitution very conſiſtent with the character of that Pope, and very favourable to the progreſs of licentiouſneſs and corruption. He ordered it to be held every hundredth year: but ſome of his ſucceſſors, thinking this too long a period of time for the members of their church to go without a plenary indulgence, appointed a more frequent celebration of this ſalutary and profitable inſtitution [1]. For it is beyond the power of man, ſay ſome of their grave cardinals, to tell what an infinite number of indulgences is given by the Popes on theſe occaſions [2]; and happy is he who can get any of the materials which were touched and ſanctified by the Pope's hammer. And *the holy doors of theſe churches* (p. 382) ſtand open during the continuance of theſe ſolemnities, with a view, no doubt, to let all the catholics into heaven; which ceremony was the addition of his holineſs *Alexander* VI.

The new Pope, ſometime after his election, ſummoned the long ſuſpended council to meet again at *Trent*; where, after the *French* ambaſſador's proteſt againſt it, the fathers entered upon the ſubject of the euchariſt.

1 *Moſheim*, v. 1. p. 693, & 694. Notes.

2 Cardinal *Raſponi*, *lib.* 2. *c.* 14. & *lib.* 4. *c.* 19. cited in *Brevint's Saul* and *Samuel* at *Endor*, p. 253. *Bellarm. Cont.* v. 3. *De indulgentiis*, *lib.* 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 1491.

Our

Our author, who is well ſkilled in gloſſing over the monſtrous abſurdities of his religious tenets, that they may not be too offenſive to proteſtant readers, has told us, *that in the chapter on tranſubſtantiation, the fathers are ſilent as to the manner, by which the body of our Lord becomes preſent in the euchariſt* (p. 384): when, as expreſsly as words could do, they have defined it to be, "by a *converſion* "of the whole ſubſtance of bread and wine, "which, they ſay, is aptly and properly "called tranſubſtantiation[1]." And therefore this ſacrament is intitled to the higheſt act of divine worſhip. But to give the finiſhing ſtroke, and to diſplay abſurdity and ſuperſtition in its higheſt extravagance, *the council expreſsly approved of the annual ſolemnity, by which its inſtitution was commemorated* (p. 383). A feſtival that owed its original to the pretended viſions and revelations, which a fanatical enthuſiaſtical woman was ſuppoſed to have received in the 13th century[2]; and was now corroborated by that bulwark of all their decrees, the tremendous threatening of damnation to all deniers of them.

The ſacraments of penitence, and extreme unction (p. 384), were then eſtabliſhed, after much ſcholaſtic diſputation: the one of which was intended chiefly to ſupport the ſacerdo-

1 *Conc. Trid. ſeſs.* 13. *c.* 4.
2 *Moſheim*, v. 1. p. 693.

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tal power and influence, by the benefit of auricular confeſſion; the other, to excite falſe hopes of ſalvation, in expiring perſons, from the external application of an inſignificant ceremony. The ambaſſadors of the *German* proteſtants were ſome of them arrived: but ſuch a *proteſt*, with reſpect to their reception, *was regiſtered in the name of all the fathers* (p. 385), as was intended plainly to ſignify, they ſhould not be regarded. The violent, impetuous legate, cardinal *Creſcentio*, " had before laid every impediment in his " power to obſtruct their coming to *Trent*, " and to prevent the council's making any re- " formation, he and his tools would rather ſuf- " fer their throats to be cut, than part with " an inch of their pretenſions." This character of the legate and the council, we have from the letters of *Vargas*, and other miniſters of *Charles* V, who were preſent at it [1]; and ſaw, and deteſted the paltry, ſervile behaviour of the majority of the fathers, whoſe aim was not to conſult the peace and reformation of the church, but how they might beſt advance the pretenſions of the papal power. For this purpoſe, the controverted doctrines were not debated upon the footing of a free inquiry; but ſo propoſed, that by a mercenary

1 They were publiſhed in 1697 by Dr. *Geddes*, and are inconteſtible evidences of the chicanery of the Pope, the ſhameleſs violence of the legate, the baſe ſervility of the council, and their diſingenuous behaviour with regard to the ſafe conduct to be granted to the proteſtants.

majority,

majority, their ſenſe of them ſhould be fortified by formidable denuntiations againſt all oppoſers, and all their priſtine corruptions rendered the indiſputable teſt of catholic orthodoxy.

Fortunately however for the dependants upon the Pope, rumours of wars ariſing, the fathers ſaved themſelves the trouble of entering into any diſpute with the proteſtant deputies; for many of the biſhops fled from *Trent* upon the firſt alarm: and "now affairs being in a deſperate ſtate, the fathers "that remained met, and by reaſon of the "diſſentions and quarrels of Kings and "Princes, prorogued it for two years, and "longer if peace was not made."[1]

But where was our *Engliſh* cardinal all the while that theſe important articles were tranſacting? could he be abſent from this council, who had ever been ſo deſirous of ſeeing one; who had wrote ſo excellently upon its nature, neceſſity, and importance; and who had expreſſed his concern in ſuch moving terms, at the breaking up of the two former meetings? Yet ſo it was, that neither his zeal nor his piety could ſend him to aid this council with his advice, or honour it with his preſence. Whether it was, that not having the honour of being the Pope's

1 *Sleidan*, b. 23. p. 548. Who alſo has expoſed the paltry behaviour of the council, in this whole book; which he was well qualified to do, having been preſent at it himſelf, as one of the proteſtant deputies.

legate,

legate, he was ſo piqued he would not attend; or whether he was endeavouring to get over the vexation of having the popedom ſlip through his hands: but whatever the cauſe was, he does not appear to have helped it forward any one way, either by taking notice of it in his letters, or by being conſulted at all upon the occaſion. So that this *moſt conſpicuous perſonage of that epoch* (pref. p. XIII), is, for ſome time, intirely forgotten. To fill up, however, the vacant interſtices, as his *cardinal's* actions afforded no materials, our author hath diverted his reader, with the above account of the affairs at *Trent*; and not being diſpoſed to return to his hero in haſte, hath preſented us, by way of interlude between the laſt and the next council of *Trent*, with a ſhort account of the famous *Poiſi* conference; and with his uſual good faith, and ſtrict regard to truth.

Mr. *P.* declareth in his preface againſt running *into digreſſions on times and perſons* (p. v), with which *Pole* had *little* or no *relation* (p. v), as *his intention, is to put down only what his ſubject leads him to; not every thing he could draw from it* (*Ib.* p. VI). We can therefore only account for this violation of his intentions, in relating this conference, which did not happen till upwards of three years after *Pole's* deceaſe, but from the infamous pleaſure which our author takes in aſperſing, upon all occaſions, the memory of the reformers, and in blackening their characters,

racters, by a falſe and partial repreſentation. Not to ſwell this article, we ſhall content ourſelves with referring to *Thuanus*[1], and *Dupin*, for the occaſion and hiſtory of this conference. To the former of theſe our writer hath himſelf appealed: and his teſtimony is, that *Beza, in the heat of the diſpute* (p. 389), dropped indeed ſome expreſſions, which ſhocked the audience. But what was this offenſive *propoſition againſt Chriſt's preſence in the euchariſt* (p. 389)? He affirmed, that the *humanity* of Chriſt being taken into conſideration, his body was as far diſtant from the euchariſt, as heaven from earth. But ſhould an adverſary of good faith have paſſed over in ſilence the clear explanation he gave of this aſſertion, wherein he avowed he did not deny the preſence of Chriſt as God in the euchariſt; but that his body was not therefore converted into the bread, which, as a ſubſtance, was circumſcribed by place and ſpace in heaven; confirming his opinion by the expreſs authority of St. *Auſtin*, and *Vigilius* biſhop of *Trent*. The cardinal of *Lorrain's* baſeneſs in charging *Beza*, in public, with being the author of that *blaſphemy . . . concerning this myſtery, Chriſtus non magis in cœna, quam in cœno*, was very extraordinary. For the cardinal had before, in private, taxed him with it, and

1 *Thuanus, lib.* 28, *A. D.* 1561. *Dupin*, 16. *cent. v.* 2. *b.* 3. *p.* 169---182. See alſo *vit. Bezæ inter Adami vit. Exter. Theol. p.* 211---221.

ſeemed

ſeemed ſatisfied with his ſolemn aſſeveration to the contrary. But our writer's malignity in fixing this wicked calumny upon *Beza*, is inexcuſable, when *Thuanus*, whoſe account he had before him, ſays, that this expreſſion fell from *Melanchton*, who, in his controverſy with *Oecolampadius*, mentioned this as a conſequence of his doctrine; and that the cardinal had, by miſtake, charged it upon *Beza*.

Neither is this all. The jeſuit *Laines* muſt be brought in for his ſhare of the triumph over poor *Beza*; whoſe *diſcourſe . . . was ſo ſatisfactory, that it procured the ſettlement of his order at Paris* (p. 390). But here our hiſtorian improves upon his authorities. For *Thuanus* expreſsly tells us, that *Laines's* ſpeech gave great offence; that it conſiſted of rant and railing, inſtead of argument; that he fell foul upon the proteſtants in a groſs and ſcandalous manner; and that he inſolently reproved the Queen for meddling in matters which did not belong to her. And to ſhew how well read he was in divinity, he *advanced a propoſition* concerning *Chriſt's preſence in the euchariſt*, infinitely more *ſhocking* and derogatory to the divinity of Chriſt, than *Beza's* offenſive expreſſion: for he compared it to the preſence of a King at anniverſary rejoicings, to perpetuate the remembrance of his own victories. *Beza*, with an air of conſcious ſuperiority, bid the wretch keep his reproaches to himſelf; and told him, that he ſpoke of the euchariſt, as if it was a

comedy,

comedy, in which Chriſt performed the principal part.

That *Laines's* ſpeech procured the *ſettlement of his order at Paris*, is another of our author's uſual inaccuracies. For the *Jeſuits* licence to open a ſchool in *France* bears date ſome days before *Laines* diſcourſed ſo ſatisfactorily: and it was with great difficulty, that the ſociety got any eſtabliſhment. For we are told, "the ſociety met with ſo great "oppoſition to its eſtabliſhment no where as "it did in *France*, nor had it ſo many tra-"verſes any where as it had there[1]." And the licence granted to the ſociety was clogged with many reſtrictions. If we may gueſs by immediate effects, *Beza* and his companions had their endeavours crowned with ſufficient ſucceſs. The conference of *Poiſi* gave them more liberty to defend their opinions, and ſet up places of worſhip; it reconciled them to the favour and protection of the court; and in the next year the famous *January* edict was publiſhed for their toleration; "and the "admiral *Chatillon* petitioned for churches "in the name (as he ſaid) of 2150 reformed "congregations[2]." Such, ſays *Pallavicini*, was the miſchievous conſequence of this conference, that that doctrine, which before was hid in dens and caverns, was now avowedly profeſſed[3]. And *Beza* himſelf met with

1 *Dupin*, v. 2. p. 455. *Thuanus*, *lib.* 29. *A. D.* 1562. *c.* 14. *n.* 3.

2 *Dupin*, p. 190.

3 *Pallav. lib.* 15.

great

great civilities from the court; was permitted to preach in the ſuburbs of *Paris*, and in the houſes of the Queen of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Conde*. Though this calm did not laſt long, through the oppoſition of the clergy, and the houſe of the *Guiſes*.

We are now come to the laſt meeting of the council of *Trent*; which is introduced by our author in a very formal and pompous manner (p. 391), to ſtrike the *Engliſh* reader by the relation of ſuch ſolemnities, which are always uſed upon public occaſions, and where any ceremonials are to be obſerved. In enumerating the legates, whom Mr. *P.* has ſo particularly characteriſed, he has omitted one ornament of the purple, by whom, *it muſt be acknowledged that the majeſty of the firſt biſhop of the chriſtian church was never repreſented by an happier choice . . . . nor the intereſts of that church better underſtood, or ſupported with greater ability* (p. 392); and that was his holineſs's nephew, cardinal *Altemps* biſhop of *Conſtans*, whoſe abilities were ſo remarkably mean, " that the Pope " when he appointed him one of the legates, " in the character he gave of him, excepted " only his knowledge and experience, that " is to ſay, the only qualities neceſſary for " the commiſſion he had intruſted him " with [1]." Yet, as *Pallavicini* obſerves,

1 *Courayer's* tranſlation of father *Paul's* hiſtory, &c. v. 2. l. 5. p. 121. Notes.

theſe deficiencies might be ſupplied if he would but be directed by his colleagues [1]. We are informed by one who knew him well, that he was ſo ignorant, that, before he was made a biſhop, he could not ſay the Lord's prayer in *Latin*, which language he did not underſtand, and, moreover, that he could hardly write his name [2]. Indeed, to give him his due, he ſoon found himſelf inſufficient for ſuch a ſtation, and ſollicited his diſcharge; which the Pope conſented to, having thoughts of employing him in a manner more ſuitable to his temper, by naming him his legate to the forces intended to be ſent into *France* [3], to ſuppreſs the growth of proteſtantiſm [4].

There was alſo another of the legates, not much better qualified for that charge than *Altemps*; and that was *Navigero*. For *Pallavicini* ſays, that when the Pope, upon

1 *Pallav. lib.* 15, *c.* 13, *n.* 10.

2 *Jacobus Heerbrand*, one of the proteſtant Divines ſent by the Duke of *Wirtemburgh*, to the laſt council of *Trent*: and who ſays of this legate, whoſe ignorance he is expoſing — *Melius hunc novimus, quia Diocæſanus noſter.* Cited in *Shelhorn's Amæn. hiſt. & litt.* Ø. 1, *p.* 351, 352.

3 *Pallav. lib.* 16, *c.* 11, *n.* 10.

4 *Shelhorn* has preſerved ſome pleaſant and entertaining anecdotes relating to this learned and ingenious cardinal, worth communicating.

The Emperor *Ferdinand* accoſted him once in *Latin*, and ſaid to him, *Memento te eſſe piſcatorem hominum*, &c. *Altemps*, not underſtanding *Latin*, replied, Yes, moſt noble Emperor, there is very good fiſh in . . . ſea. Another time, as he was riding in *Rome*, along with ſome other cardinals, when ſome of them complained of the cold; *Altemps*, that he might bear his ſhare in the converſation,

Altemps's leaving *Trent*, had determined to ſend two new legates, one of whom was *Navigero*, cardinal *Gonzaga* remonſtrated againſt this deſignation, and ſaid, that he was a very improper perſon, being neither a divine nor a civilian [1]: but notwithſtanding this reaſonable objection, upon *Seripando's* death, his holineſs appointed this very cardinal his ſucceſſor (p. 495). Theſe were the preſidents of that council, which our writer hath preſumed to compare with the apoſtolical and inſpired one at *Jeruſalem*, related in the acts of the apoſtles.

This being the laſt ſeſſions, and when the greateſt number of prelates were preſent, our hiſtorian judged he could not more effectually ſerve the cauſe of his church, or recommend *the aſſeſſors of this tribunal* (p. 426), than by calling the council an *illuſtrious copy of the venerable original of that of Jeruſalem* (p. 421), and aſſerting, that *a ſupernatural aſſiſtance was* ASSURED *to it* (p. 423). To exemplify theſe arrogant claims, he has condeſcended to give the public a laboured, plauſible detail of the decrees eſtabliſhed in it, as if they had never been controverted; or, as if his fallacious

ſation, and ſhew his skill in the *Latin* language, obſerved to them, *Eſt magnum frigum*; one of his attendants, who knew ſomewhat more than his maſter, whiſpered him in the ear *gus*, *gus*: the cardinal corrected his miſtake by this emendation, *Eſt magnum friguncus*, from whence he got th enick-name of cardinal *Friguncus*. *Amæn. hiſt. & lit.* v. 1, p. 356.

1 *Pallav. lib.* 18, *c.* 16, *n.* 1.

repreſentation would be admitted as the faithful expoſitor of them. His vanity indeed flattered him, that his account *would have, at leaſt, the recommendation of novelty with the generality of his readers* (p. 420); yet, alas! ſmooth words, and fine colouring will no more deceive us now, than anathemas could formerly frighten our anceſtors; for there is nothing, in all this florid narration, of weight enough to leſſen our well-founded objections againſt the authority of this ſynod. We plainly perceive the ſame ſpirit of *infatuation* to reign in this, as much as in the former ſeſſions; that the legates were as much the creatures of the Pope, as any of the former ones were; and that "the ſpirit "which was wont to move the legates to "think as the Pope did, and the biſhops to "believe as the legates, did work as formerly it had done[1]." We find the ſame caballing and intriguing, the ſame violent and unfair methods to ſecure a mercenary majority, and to inſult oppoſers. Frequent were the complaints, during the debates in the council, that it was not free: and it clearly appears, that it was not ſo much the healing of religious diviſions, or to bring the ſtrayed ſheep into the fold of the church, that the leading members of the council had at heart, as how beſt to drive them farther off; and how to advance the profit, and exalt

1 Father *Paul*, b. 4. p. 276.

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the power, of the court of *Rome*. The *French* ambaſſadors, in their diſpatches, make grievous complaints of the partiality, prejudice, and obſtinacy of the holy fathers: they tell their court, that the Pope was maſter of the council, and many of its members his penſioners[1]; that their intention ſeemed to be, to increaſe the troubles of *Chriſtendom*, and ſtop the progreſs of the propoſed reformation[2]. In another diſpatch, they ſignify, that though there are many excellent perſons in the council, yet there is no hope of any reconciling meaſures being adopted, the majority not being ſo well inclined: — that they were at that time treating of ſome doctrines in ſuch terms, that it was evident, their deſign was effectually to ſhut the door againſt the proteſtants, and baniſh them the council[3]. The ambaſſador *Pibrac's* ſpeech, ſo reproachfully repreſented by Mr. *P.* as *ſhocking* (p. 395) to the delicacy of the fathers, was a *diſcourſe* which did himſelf and his nation credit; and would have done thoſe reverend fathers honour, if they had attended to, and profited by it[4].

1 See *Actes du concile de Trente, en l'an* 1562, & 1563, *p.* 59. 8*vo*, 1607. *Lettre de Lanſac au Roi*, 19th *Jul.* 1562.

2 *Le meme livre. Lettre au Roi par meſſieurs du Ferrier & de Pibrac, le* 25 *Sept.* 1563. *p.* 163, & 167.

3 *Le meme. Lettre de Pibrac à la Reyne mere.* 22 *Aug. p.* 63 & 66.

4 *Le meme. p.* 15---24. See alſo *Dupin* 16 cent. v. 2. b. 3. p. 218---223. *Pallav. lib.* 16, *c.* 11, *n.* 3---5.

But the council was not only diſcompoſed by this ſpirited and chriſtian addreſs of *Pibrac*, at its firſt ſetting out; but the affair of ſettling precedence gave the legates equal uneaſineſs; and the famous *Bartholomæus a Martyribus*, archbiſhop of *Braganza*, ſeems ſo far to have reſented that his claim of preceding all the other archbiſhops was not determined according to his mind, that it occaſioned him afterwards, when the reformation of the cardinals came under conſideration, to propoſe, what Mr. *P.* calls, *a plan* (p. 394) for that purpoſe, uſing that ſneering expreſſion, recorded by *Quirini*, to ſignify his ſenſe of the neceſſity of their reformation [1].

Mr. *P*, reviewing the decrees of the council, ſays that *the fathers have added nothing to the doctrine of antiquity, but placed in an advantageous light what the innovators endeavoured to obſcure* (p. 423): and therefore congratulates his church, whoſe *unerring light*, he ſays, *is at once clear, unchanged, and univerſal; and has in every age . . . . been the ſource and teſt of every rightful tenet* (p. 422). As Mr. *P.* ſuppoſes, *the generality of his readers* to be ignorant of theſe tranſactions, and that they are *novelties* (p. 420) to them, it is no wonder he ſhould buoy himſelf up with the hopes, that confidence would paſs with

1 *Cum in conſilio conſulerctur, an cardinales reformatione egerent, apoſtolica libertate reſpondit, illuſtriſſimi, & reverendiſſimi cardinales egent illuſtriſſima, & reverendiſſima reformatione.* *Quirini*, *v.* 1. *p.* LXXIX, LXXX.

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them, both for truth and proof; for it may well be doubted whether any one could say this, and be serious. We can scarce think, *the fathers* themselves thought so highly of their own decrees, or they would never have given such strange reasons, for enacting some of them, as they have done. Thus, in the first sessions of any importance, they establish communion in one kind only, and yet own that communion in both kinds was instituted by Christ himself[1], and was not an uncommon practice in the earliest ages of the church[2]. So, likewise, in the doctrine of the mass, when they assert that it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, they do not pretend to found it upon *SS*, but *tradition*[3]: and, amongst other reasons of equal weight, for the mixing *of water with the wine in the chalice* (p. 399), is this convincing reason urged, because it is believed Christ did so[4]. And the reason, for retaining the *ancient practice as to the language in which mass is performed* (p. 399), is, that though the mass contains great edification for the faithful, yet it is *not* expedient it should be performed in the *vulgar*

1 --- *Etsi Christus Dominus in ultima cœna venerabile hoc sacramentum in panis & vini speciebus instituit, & apostolis tradidit.* Conc. Trid. sess. 21, cap. 1.

2 *Licet ab initio christianæ religionis, non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset.* Id. ibid. cap. 2.

3 *Pro defunctis in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis . . . juxta apostolorum traditionem.* Id. sess. 22, cap. 2.

4 *Quod Christum Dominum ita fecisse credatur.* Id. ibid. cap. 7.

tongue. The fathers certainly wanted a little of Mr. *P's* ſubtlety, or they would have uſed ſome more artificial refinements in compoſing their decrees. Our author, however, is ſo well ſatisfied with their reaſons, that he avers, that *every article of theſe chapters . . . . is enounced with a dignity becoming this auguſt myſtery, and in a manner the moſt ſuitable to inſpire thoſe with reſpect and devotion who are diſpoſed to ſuch impreſſions* (p. 399); to promote which, and to aſtoniſh his proteſtant countrymen, he entertains *his readers*, with the relation of the *ſolemnities* of this ceremony *on Eaſter eve*, as it was performed by one of the moſt magnificent and ambitious prelates *that ever filled the pontifical throne*; who, whatever care he might take to increaſe *inward ſanctity*, yet, knowing how much eaſier it is to worſhip with the eye than the heart, *made uſe of what had a pleaſing effect on the ſenſes* (p. 399); and introduced into the religious offices of the church, an enormous multitude of pompous ſhewy ceremonies, which were only calculated to attract the ſtupid admiration of a gazing populace.

These gaudy ſpectacles, that by thus captivating the ſenſes, place religion in outward ſhew, and ſuperſtitious rites, are abſolutely deſtructive of the life and power of true devotion. And our author has given a ſtriking proof of the effects of bigotted prejudice, to repreſent with ſuch pleaſure the cumber-

cumberſome and theatrical ceremonies in the Eaſter-eve's ſervice *of St. Leo the great* (p. 400); and to preſume, that ſuch a ſwelling account of the laborious pomp of an outward worſhip could give any advantageous idea either of the ſaint, or the church in his days. If the reader be inclined to have any further inſtances produced of the foppery and pomp of the *Romiſh* ritual, as he *may never have had an opportunity of ſeeing theſe acts of religion performed with ſolemnity* (p. 389) we believe, he *will not be diſpleaſed* to have recommended to his ſerious peruſal, Doctor *Geddes's deſcription* of a ſolemn pontifical maſs [1]: and Mr. *Whitfield's* account of ſome *Lent* proceſſions, and eccleſiaſtical entertainments at *Lisbon* [2]; who, after deſcribing the offenſive exhibition of a *Good Friday's* ſervice at that place, makes this ſerious and ſenſible remark upon the *uſe of what* may have perhaps *a pleaſing effect on the ſenſes* (p. 399) of boys and girls, but muſt excite the compaſſion of every well-inſtructed chriſtian. "How mean" (ſays he) "is that eloquence, "and how entirely deſtitute of the demon- "ſtration of the ſpirit, and of a divine "power, muſt that oratory neceſſarily be, "that ſtands in need of ſuch a train of ſuper- "ſtitious pageantry to render it impreſſive [3]."

1 Laſt volume of his tracts, p. 205.

2 Publiſhed in 1755, in ſome letters to an *Engliſh* friend.

3 Letter the 4th, p. 28.

And

And every well-grounded proteſtant, who conſiders the ſpirituality of religion, will look with diſdain upon that church, which in the celebration of its holieſt offices, retaineth ſuch idle and uſeleſs ceremonials, as from the nature and multiplicity of them, cannot but draw off the attention of the mind from the ſacred myſteries it ſhould contemplate, by diſturbing and amuſing it with ſuch and ſo many external repreſentations.

To return with Mr. *P.* to the council; who informs us of the cardinal of *Lorrain's* arrival at *Trent*, and of his *inſtructions*, and propoſals for a reformation. But, to the ſhame of the court of *Rome* and the council be it ſpoken, no regard was ſhewn, either to theſe propoſals, or to *the memorial* which *the French ambaſſadors preſented, in the name of their nation, to the legates* (p. 403); for *the preſent circumſtances*, truly, required *a moderation with reſpect to ſeveral of thoſe articles* (p. 404); that is to ſay, the Pope was ſenſible he had got a ſure majority, and therefore was not diſpoſed either to yield any thing, or to oblige the King of *France* in his deſire (for the peace of his kingdom) of *reforming abuſes, which time had introduced* (p. 404). Indeed, whatever *zeal* that King might ſhew to *reſtore the ancient diſcipline*, the council, being — *Nervis alienis mobile lignum*, was determined to ſhew none: for notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, from a variety of difficulties, nothing was done for ſeveral months

months together, except quarrelling in a ſhameful manner, and avoiding every appearance of a reformation. The debates, particularly about epiſcopacy and the cup, were carried on with ſuch indecent violencies, as will be a laſting blot upon the piety and prudence of the holy fathers themſelves, and the order and regularity, which ſhould have been obſerved by *inſpired* perſons. Father *Paul* is ſaid to write as an *adverſary*[1] (p. 424): but *Pallavicini's* hiſtory is as full of their ſquabbles as the other[2]; and is, upon the whole (though attempted with a different deſign) a ſtrong confirmation of the other's credit[3]: and the Romaniſts can have little reaſon to object to the friar's account, when this packed aſſembly is ſufficiently expoſed by *his* repreſentation, who ſpeaks of it in the moſt advantageous light.

When the difficulties already mentioned (p. 405) were got over, the Council paſſed the *doctrinal decrees* concerning *holy orders*, and *the inſtitution of epiſcopacy*. *Thoſe claſſes which properly belong to holy orders*, are defined to be 7 in number, and undoubtedly for the ſame reaſons of congruity as they had before decreed the ſeptenary number of ſacraments. They ſay indeed, that the SS. make expreſs

1 *Boſſuet, hiſt. des Var. v.* 2. *p.* 438.

2 *V. lib.* 16, *c.* 4, *n.* 20. *Lib.* 16, *c.* 5, *n.* 5. *Lib.* 19, *c.* 5, *n.* 5. *Lib.* 23, *c.* 6, *n.* 6, *&c. paſſim per tot.*

3 *Courayer's* preface to his tranſlation of father *Paul*, p. VII.

mention,

mention only of the prieſthood, and the deaconſhip; the other five therefore ſtand upon the ſtronger rock, Antiquity, and Councils [1]. But if *this ſupreme tribunal was aſſured of a ſupernatural aſſiſtance* (p. 423), why did the fathers *draw up the articles concerning epiſcopacy, with ſuch caution, as to avoid an explicit deciſion of the nature of the right, from which the juriſdiction of that order is derived* (p. 406). If, as we are told elſewhere, that *the deciſions of the Council are not leſs clear and preciſe, than abſolute and peremptory* (p. 424); why did not the *inſpired* members of it put an end at once to the controverſy, whether epiſcopacy is immediately of divine right [2]; or whether *biſhops as delegates of the holy ſee* (p. 358) have only a dependent *juriſdiction and power compriſed in* (p. 406), and derived from the Pope? And however Mr. *P.* may preſume to ſlight *Laines's* ſpeech, yet *Pallavicini* tells us, that no one perſon in the Council got ſo much credit, as *Laines* by this ſpeech upon epiſcopacy [3]; and another, which he made ſoon after, upon this and the ſubject of diſpenſations, was ſo much admired, that the legates ſent a copy

1 *Concil. Trid. ſeſs.* 23, *cap.* 2.

2 *Boſſuet, hiſt. des variations, vol.* 2. *p.* 436, to whom Mr *P.* is greatly obliged for the pompous and florid elogium given of the Council and its decrees, at the end of this ſection. But, as uſual, without reference or acknowledgment.

3 *Lib.* 18, *c.* 15, *n.* 1.

of

of it to *Rome*[1]. Which was ſo far *from being*, as Mr. *P.* aſſerts, *refuted with great ſolidity . . . . by Verdun* (p. 406), that, as better hiſtorians aſſure us, *Verdun never* ſpoke at all. They tell us, that though he and *Hugonius* offered to reply to *Laines*, the cardinal of *Lorrain* would not permit either of them to do it[2].

Whilſt the decree for the reformation of ſovereigns (p. 408) was in agitation, *Du Ferrier*, one of the *French* ambaſſadors, did, as Mr. *P.* obſerves, *ſpeak with great vehemence*[3]: but he could not well reply, to his *anſwerer the biſhop of Monte Fiaſcono, by a diſcourſe of paſſion and reſentment*, for he was not preſent when the biſhop made his ſpeech[4]. Mr. *P.* deſervedly cenſures *this projected reformation* (p. 408), which was ſet aſide: and all that the Pope ſeems to have intended by it, was, that Princes being engaged in defending themſelves, might have the leſs power or inclination to urge the reformation of the court of *Rome*; and that, if the world had heard of complaints againſt Popes, they might now hear of as many complaints againſt Princes[5].

1 *Lib.* 21, *c.* 6, *n.* 15.

2 *Id. ib. n.* 16. *Paul*, b. 8, p. 722. *Dupin*, 16 cent. v. 2, b. 4, p. 317.

3 — *Aſpero & aculeato atramento. Pallav. lib.* 23. *c.* 1, *n.* 4. See alſo *Actes de concile de Trente*, *p.* 138, & 144. *Dupin*, *v.* 2, *b.* 4, *p.* 345.

4 *Pallav. lib.* 23. *c.* 1. *n.* 10.

5 *Id. lib.* 22, *c.* 9, *n.* 1.

The

The decrees concerning marriage and reformation being paſſed; Mr. *P*, to convince the heretics of *ſlandering the church of Rome, preſents his readers with the whole decree on Purgatory and invocation of ſaints* (p. 412, 413). And truly, if ſpeaking peremptorily would do it, the doctrine is then ſufficiently eſtabliſhed: but, though it be *enounced* with the uſual formal arrogancy of the Council's being *inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt, according to SS, and the doctrine of all antiquity* (p. 412); yet this will not ſet aſide this unanſwerable objection, that in this, as well as other decrees, the Council TEACHES *for doctrines the commandments of men. Pallavicini* ſays, that ſome objected to this *decree of Purgatory*, that it was a mean one, and unworthy the Council: but they were told, that in great buildings, ſomething leſs perfect would always be found, and to avoid the great evils of delay, ſome omiſſion of a lingering policy would be commended, if not excuſed [1]. After this, we do not wonder (as the Council itſelf did not explain what Purgatory is) to find *Bellarmine* ſo perplexed about it, that, for want of better proof, he was obliged to have recourſe to *Jews, Mahometans*, heathen

1 --- *Etiamſi decretum de Purgatorio videretur quibuſdam tenue, ac parum dignum conſilio. Sed reſpondebatur, in cunctis ingentibus fabricis aliquid minus perfectum reperiri, & quo vitarentur gravia mala, ex mora impendentia, quamcunque prætermiſſionem alicujus lentæ ſolertiæ laudabilem, nedum excuſabilem reddi. Lib.* 24, *c.* 4, *n.* 10.

poets,

poets, philoſophers, and apparitions [1], to prove this article of his creed; which many writers of his own communion are honeſt enough to own the ancient Doctors were ignorant of. But it anſwered well the profits of the church; and was too gainful a trade, for the prieſts not to be ſollicitous to retain it [2]. As it was a doctrine ſo well ſupported by legends and fables, the prudence and policy of the Council cannot be too much admired, to make this article, evidently the ſpawn of ſuperſtition and credulity, and the nurſe of covetouſneſs, an article of faith; and to damn thoſe who are ſo hardy to laugh at, or diſbelieve it. It was at the ſame time no impolitic ſcheme, not to determine the number of maſſes neceſſary to releaſe a ſoul out of Purgatory: for the more maſſes, the more money. So that cardinal *Richlieu* was not out when he told his chaplain, "that juſt ſo "many maſſes would ſerve to fetch a ſoul "out of Purgatory, as ſnow-balls would "ſerve to heat an oven [3]."

The decree concerning the invocations of ſaints, and the worſhip of images, is drawn up with the ſame art and fineſſe, that the

1 *Bellarm. Cont.* v. 2. *De Purgatorio, lib.* 1, *c.* 11, *p.* 749, 750.

2 *Mirum in modum amant (monachi) ignem purgatorium, quod utiliſſimus ſit illorum cultus.*

Eraſ. Hieron. Agathio. Ep. lib. 20, *p.* 757.

3 Cited in two diſcourſes on Purgatory and prayers for the dead, ſuppoſed to be written by biſhop *Burnet*, p. 8.

former

former one concerning Purgatory was: and it will be sufficient to remark, that however these doctrines may be glossed over, the practice of the church does not appear in so fair a light. "The terms," says Mr. *Maclaine*, "employed in these canons are artfully chosen so as to avoid the imputation of idolatry, in the philosophical sense of that word, for in the SS. sense they cannot avoid it, as all use of images in religious worship is expressly forbidden in the sacred writings in many places. But this circumspection does not appear in the worship of the Roman Catholics, which is notoriously idolatrous in both the senses of that word[1];" So notorious, that it is amazing how those plain texts of SS, that say unto us, "*Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*," and the like, could escape the pruning knife of the *Index Expurgatorius*, whilst this truth, *God alone is to be worshipped*, is expunged from the works of *Athanasius* and *Austin*[2], as contradicting the practice of their church, and her members.

The next decree, of any consequence, is that concerning *indulgences*, *which* having *been the object of so much obloquy* (p. 417), Mr. *P.* hopes to remove these unreasonable

1 *Mosheim's* Eccles. Hist. v. 2. p. 108. Note.

2 Adorari solius Dei est, *deleatur ex indice opp. Athanasii, item ex indice opp. S. Augustini.*
Sotomajor's index lib. prohib. & expurg. p. 52, & 56.

prejudices,

prejudices, by *tranſcribing* the whole of it. Here, if ever, it might be hoped, ſome ſhadow, at leaſt, of amendment would have appeared: but the evil genius of popery was never more aſcendant, than when the council ſo haſtily paſſed an article of ſuch importance. The ſame ambiguity of expreſſion is as viſible in this, as in ſome other decrees: the council owns, that *abuſes had been introduced*, and it pretends to ſtop them; but in effect leaves a door ſtill open to the ſame enormous corruptions. As the calling this doctrine in queſtion had ſhaken the whole fabric of their religious ſyſtem, we might have expected the fathers would have beſtowed ſome time and pains in the conſideration of it: but inſtead of that, as if the oppoſition to it was trifling, and below their notice, they neither vouchſafe to prove, nor explain it; but, as if councils were only called, to take the oppoſite ſide to what heretics taught[1], they poſitively aſſert the doctrine, and damn thoſe who deny or blaſpheme it. Thus, inſtead of correcting, a freſh ſanction was rather given to theſe *glaring diſorders*, (p. 324). For it was much too profitable a traffic to be ſet aſide, only to pleaſe ſcrupulous conſciences.

Their own writers confeſs, there is nothing in the word of God to authorize theſe indulgences: and the beſt men of that communion

1 See the ſpeech of *Oſius* biſhop of *Ricti* againſt allowing the cup. *Pallav. Lib.* 18. *c.* 4. *n.* 17.

muſt be aſhamed of theſe pious frauds, whoſe only uſe is, to fill the coffers of the church, and diſſipate thoſe guilty fears, which religion and conſcience would otherwiſe keep alive. Thus an eaſier road is found to heaven, than by the ſeverities of a religious life; for by theſe grants, as one of their own poets has obſerved — *cælum eſt venale Deuſque*[1]. The indulgences of ancient days were only relaxations of canonical penance or diſcipline; for the primitive church knew nothing of a power over the fabled pains of purgatory, or of that bleſſed treaſure, the ſatisfaction of the ſaints, whereof the Pope keeps the key, and can alone diſpenſe it. And his holineſs's champion Bellarmine, who "anſwers all the arguments "in the world, whether it be poſſible, or "not[2]," does as good as give up the argument of antiquity for indulgences, when he is forced to acknowledge, there are not many ancient writers who mention them[3].

From the many ſubterfuges, to which the Romiſh advocates have had recourſe, to palliate this very exceptionable part of their doctrine, we might have thought, they would have been aſhamed to have continued it in the ſame wanton and unjuſtifiable manner as ever. But ignorance is ſtill the mother of devotion. And though Mr. *P.* would perſuade

1 *J. Bapt. Mantuan.*

2 *Taylor's* liberty of propheſying, Sect. 6. p. 120.

3 *Bellarm. Cont. v.* 3. *de indulgentiis, Lib.* 2. *c.* 17. *p.* 1616.

us,

us, *that the* doctrine of his church *is the very reverſe* (p. 418) of what is generally repreſented, with regard to this article, yet the ſenſe of any church may be beſt ſeen by it's practice; and this plenitude of the papal power is ſtill occaſionally exerted as much as ever. In the year 1729 a papal bull was iſſued out, and ſent from *Bruſſels* into *Ireland*, to *Chriſtopher Butler* titular archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, to grant an *indulgence* of 10 years (I think) to thoſe who ſhould contribute money towards advancing the pretender to the crown of theſe kingdoms, and dethroning the late King George [1]. Mr. *Weſley* alſo, in one of his journals, has inſerted a remarkable *indulgence*, which he found ſtuck upon the door of the great church of *Mentz*, ſo lately as 1738 [2]. And the miſſionaries here in England, have power from the Pope to grant *plenary indulgences* to all new converts, to all the faithful (if contrite) at the point of death, and to all the faithful under their care, three times every year. The

1 See the report of the *Iriſh* committee made *Dec.* 19. 1733.

2 A full releaſe for the poor ſouls in purgatory. His papal holineſs Clement XII, hath this year 1738, on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, moſt graciouſly priviledged the cathedral church of St. *Chriſtopher* in *Mentz*. So that every prieſt, as well ſecular as regular, who will read maſs at an altar for the ſoul of a chriſtian departed, on any holiday, or on any day within the octave thereof, or on two extraordinary days, to be appointed by the ordinary, of any week in the year, may each time deliver a ſoul out of the fire of purgatory. *Weſley's* 3d Journal, from *Aug.* 1738. to *Nov.* 1739. p. 6.

terms, upon which this *indulgence* is granted, are theſe eaſy ones, *viz.* that they excite in their hearts, the moſt perfect compunction poſſible, and after confeſſion, before or after communion, ſay ſome prayers in the day with great devotion during the ſpace of about a quater of an hour, at the ſame or different times, for the exaltation of the catholic church; for the peace and concord of chriſtian princes; for the extirpation of hereſy; for the converſion of England [1]. Thus is this abuſe of piety reformed: and thus, as Mr. *P.* ſays, do we *chuſe to miſrepreſent* the doctrine of indulgences, (p. 418). — But let the reader judge whether he or we are miſtaken in the *repreſentation* given of it.

This was the laſt decree of any moment worth our writer's attention; the reſt are paſſed over, as being of leſs importance. But there was one in a more particular manner very neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed by thoſe, who were corrupting the faith, and that was, the decree *which remits to the Pope's care the catalogue of prohibited works*, &c., (p. 418); that the faith, having now new doctrines and articles added to it, might have the appearance however of being ſupported by the teſtimony of the learned, whoſe works it was determined

1 This, and ſome other ſecret practices of the miſſionaries were diſcovered from the papers of, Mr *P's* friend, *Alban Butler*, which were ſent by miſtake to the biſhop's palace at *Norwich*, in 1753. See alſo Dr. *Stebbing* againſt popery, p^t 2. p. 101.

ſhould

ſhould at all events ſpeak the language not of the authors themſelves, but of the Romiſh church; every paſſage being carefully expunged, corrected and amended, which tends to contradict the novelties of Pope *Pius's* creed, and his additional articles of faith. This the *Belgic* inquiſitors make no ſcruple to avow [1]: but they have his holineſs's ſanction for it; though it is ſo horrid and villainous a proceeding, that it muſt make the faith of all books, and all authors juſtly ſuſpected. Such men muſt lay aſide both conſcience and honour. *Henry Boxhorn*, profeſſor of divinity at *Louvain*, was employed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the *Low-countries*, publiſhed by command of the duke of *Alva* under *Arius Montanus*; and ſays, that with his own hands, he ſtruck out no fewer than 600 paſſages in ancient writers, which ſeemed to contradict the doctrines and claims of the church of *Rome*. The ſenſe of this diſhoneſty lay ſo heavy upon his mind, that it proved the occaſion of his turning proteſtant, and quitting that religion which could not defend itſelf without ſuch manifeſt impoſtures [2]. In the *Spaniſh Index Expurgatorius*, which is a

1 *Cenſores Belg. de libro Bertrami*, p. 12. *In Catholicis veteribus aliis plurimos feramus errores, & extenuemus, excuſemus, excogitato commento perſæpe negemus, & commodum iis ſenſum affingamus dum opponuntur in diſputationibus, &c.*

2 *Henricus Boxhornius de Euchariſtia, Lib.* 3. towards the beginning.

bulky volume, the expunged places and words from the works of *Eraſmus* take up no leſs than 59 pages, and thoſe from *Thuanus*, 12 [1]. Such havoc do theſe theological-barber-ſurgeons, (as Dr. *Jortin* calls the inquiſitors) make [2]. So true was that remark of *Palearius*, though it proved a fatal one to him, for it coſt him his life, that the inquiſition was a poniard drawn againſt learning [3]. — Such means are indeed proper for ſuch a cauſe, where every art muſt be uſed, to prevent the ſpreading of too much knowledge. But if religion be to be ſupported by violent and wicked means, this is not to defend, but to defile and violate it [4]; and every honeſt man muſt abhor ſuch deteſtable methods. — Let Mr. *P.* and the *congregation of the Index* [5] vindicate, if they can, this breach of honour and good faith.

1 *Eraſmus author damnatus*, p. 256---315. *Thuanus*, p. 678---690. *Sotomajor's* Index, *&c. Madrid.* 1667.

2 *Jortin's Eraſmus*, v. 2. p. 283.

3 *Sica diſtricta in literatos. Thuanus*, B. 39. *A.D.* 1566. towards the beginning.

4 *Defendenda enim eſt religio --- non ſcelere, ſed fide --- Nam --- ſi malo religionem defendere velis, jam non defendetur illa, ſed polluetur, atque violabitur. Lactantii Inſtitut. de juſtitia, L. 5. Sect.* 19. *Ed. Var. p.* 520. *the author lived in the fourth century.*

5 The buſineſs of this congregation, is to examine MSS and books deſigned for publication, to correct erroneous books, to condemn heretical, and pernicious ones, and to grant the privilege of peruſing them to certain perſons. *Moſheim*, v. 2. p. 86. note.

From

From this ſketch or review of the council of *Trent*, chiefly drawn from *Pallavicini*, Mr. *P's* own hiſtorian, the reader may judge, how little it merits the high flown panegyric beſtowed upon it by our zealous admirer of it: but theſe are only words of courſe, to amuſe his countrymen by a pompous *detail of novelties*; (p. 420). But truly! this council muſt be compared to the apoſtolical one at *Jeruſalem*, where St. *Peter* in perſon preſided. We have compared them together; the *illuſtrious copy*, and *the venerable original*, (p. 421) have no reſemblance: humility, faith, candour, and holineſs, are the lovely ſignatures of the one; whilſt pride, preſumption, faction, and bigotry ſtrongly characterize the other. St. *Peter* indeed, according to the ſcriptural account of the *Jeruſalem meeting*, (p. 421) did not know his place and duty ſo well as his holier ſucceſſors: for he neither called the council, nor preſided at it, nor pronounced the ſentence; neither did it run in his name, nor did he confirm it, nor was any appeal made to his authority. The believers did not ſend to *Peter* only, or in the firſt place, but to the apoſtles and elders: and St. *James* cloſed the debate, pronounced the decree, and enacted the law, which was agreed to by the apoſtles and elders and brethren [1], without any regard to *Peter's* vicarial authority; with-

1 See *Acts* 15. v. 1. *& ſeq.* and *Barrow* on the Pope's ſupremacy, v. 1. p. 45. a book never yet anſwered.

out giving the leaſt foundation for the inſolent claims of his pretended ſucceſſors.

The members of the *Jeruſalem* council, were indeed guided by the ſpirit of God, but what pretenſions had the ſynod of *Trent* to this awful direction? "Hirelings, effeminate, "beardleſs, titular biſhops made up the "greateſt part of this aſſembly; — where the "Holy Ghoſt had nothing to do, for all was "conducted by human and worldly policy, to "ſupport the Pope's immoderate, ſcanda-"lous authority[1]." Had Lord *Bolingbroke*

1 *Dudithius's* letter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, inſerted at the end of father *Paul's* hiſtory of the council, p. 841, and 882. As *Dudithius* was the latin tranſlator of *Beccatelli's* life of *Pole*, we will give the reader a ſhort account of him. After having ſtudied in the moſt famous univerſities, and travelled through almoſt all the countries of *Europe*, he was preſent at the council of *Trent*, as deputy of the clergy of *Hungary* and biſhop of *Knin* in *Croatia*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf much, and ſpoke againſt ſeveral abuſes of the church of *Rome*. He was a great favorite of the Emperors *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, and employed by them in many negotiations. He afterwards married, and reſigned his biſhoprick; and being protected by the Emperor, deſpiſed the papal excommunications which were levelled at his head. Tired at laſt of the fopperies and ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*, he embraced the proteſtant faith, having for ſome time been its ſecret friend, and kept up a correſpondence with *Beza*. He is ſaid to have inclined to *Socinianiſm*, but ſome of his friends deny it. He was well acquainted with ſeveral branches of philoſophy and mathematics, with the ſciences of phyſic, hiſtory, theology, and the civil law. He had ſomething majeſtic in his figure, and in the air of his countenance. His life was regular and virtuous, his manners elegant and eaſy, and his benevolence warm and extenſive. *Moſheim*, v. 2. p. 267. note; from whence this

never offended more againſt religion, than, when he called this council *a ſolemn banter*, (p. 424) neither his religion, nor his piety, could have been called in queſtion. And moreover, if the decrees of the council were *ſo clear and preciſe, ſo abſolute and peremptory*, (p. 424) as the biſhop of *Meaux*, and from him Mr. *P.* would repreſent them; why, amongſt other congregations ſet apart for adminiſtring the ſpiritual affairs of the church, and upholding the catholic cauſe, was there one in particular, whoſe buſineſs it is *to explain the deciſions of the council of Trent?* If the decrees had been as plain, as reaſonable, as conſonant to the doctrines of the goſpel, as thoſe of the *Jeruſalem* council, there had been no occaſion for a ſubſequent tribunal to direct, and regulate the orthodoxy of thoſe, who ought to adopt no other plan of faith and morals, than the *SS*, thoſe *oracles* of the living God, the only binding obligation upon chriſtians of all denominations.

Mr. *P.* *concludes* this long ſection, and his encomiums *on the council of Trent, by a teſtimony above all exception*, (p. 429) and appeals to Dr. *Courayer's* excellent preface to his tranſlation of father *Paul's* hiſtory of it: but had Mr. *P.* conſulted the preface itſelf, he would ſcarce have cloſed this ſubject with ſo unfortunate an appeal. He found two citations alledged by *Quirini*, as proof, that ſome

this account is chiefly taken. See alſo *Dupin*, 16 Cent. v. 2. B. 3. p. 204. and *Thuanus*, *L.* 96. *A. D.* 1589.

regard

regard had been paid to the remonſtrances of princes concerning the corrupted ſtate of the church [1]; and he produces them hoping they would ſtand him in as good ſtead as the cardinal; and that it would leave a laſting eſteem of the council, if he confirmed his high character of it, by producing an evidence in its behalf, above all ſuſpicion of partiality; and which, he knew, would be received with the reſpect due to great learning, candour and modeſty. But if, inſtead of relying upon another's reference, he had inſpected his voucher himſelf, he would have found, that this conceſſion was only with reſpect to mere externals, to what regards *diſcipline*; and that the Dr. in ſome pages before had ſeverely cenſured the council, for augmenting the evils complained of, when it ſhould have redreſſed them, and had exemplified this charge in many important and intereſting particulars [2]. He would have found alſo, that the Dr. after making the exception concerning diſcipline, in the paragraph from whence the citations are taken [3], immediately added, —that he could not pretend to judge ſo favorably of the decrees concerning *doctrines*— that he could not juſtify the fathers, for making

1 *Quirini*, v. 3. p. 41. Præf. citing Dr. *Courayer*, and adding, *quem nulla ratione rejici poſſe ab heterodoxis cenſui.* The reference is made by the cardinal, as well as by Mr. *P.* without taking notice of the number of the page where the extracts occur.

2 p. 18---21.

3 p. 21, 22.

ſo

ſo many uncertain opinions articles of faith — for driving out of their communion, and excommunicating whole nations for a difference of ſentiments in thoſe doctrines, which were of ſuch little importance, that, till the council of *Florence*, every one was at liberty to believe or reject them — without the imputation of ſchiſm, apoſtacy and hereſy [1]. This, and more to this effect, is the teſtimony of this *very polite and judicious writer*, (p. 429.) as Mr. *P.* juſtly ſtyles him. We leave it to his further conſideration [2].

1 p. 22, 23.

2 It would have ſwelled this ſection to too great a length, to have conſidered Mr. *P's* account of this council more minutely. He tells us, *it was ſubſcribed to by* 255 *fathers* (p. 419): but of theſe, no leſs than 187 were *Italian* biſhops, entirely at the Pope's command: See the liſts at the end of the *canones & decreta concil. Trident.* where all their names are ſpecify'd. Next to this GREAT *number*, which ſerved to conſtitute it a GENERAL COUNCIL, *the characters of the perſons who compoſed it* (p. 421) is another topic for our author to expatiate upon. That there were ſome *knowing and learned* men amongſt them, we deny not: but they were few in compariſon. We ſhall give our readers great pleaſure, when we refer them to *Schelhorn's judicium Edmundi Campiani Soc. Jeſ. de concil. Trident. expenſum*, inſerted in *the amænitates hiſt. & lit.* v. 1. p. 281. *& ſeq.* where they may have a view of the merits of the fathers who compoſed this *illuſtrious copy* of the council of *Jeruſalem*.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE SEVENTH.

WE are now again returned to the ſubject of the hiſtory before us, and are brought to the concluding period of *Henry's* life, in which our biographer, adopting his hero's revengeful ſpirit, ſummons up all his rancour, and malignity; and relateth every idle tale, which he could pick up from *Pole* and *Sanders:* the former of whom, in his invective againſt the King, which he entitled his *Apology to the Emperor*, has recorded a ſtory to *Henry's* prejudice, which (if true) muſt make him a monſter replete with every vice. But as the fact eſcaped even *Sanders's* notice; and as no other writer whatever mentions ſuch an inſtance *of compleat worthleſſneſs* (p. 433), (and ſo flagrant a one could not be concealed) it merits no confutation; and is only a ſad proof of the eagerneſs with which *Pole's* malice ſwallowed every fiction againſt *Henry*, and of the pleaſure he took upon all occaſions

occaſions of propagating thoſe ſlanders in a manner unbecoming his profeſſion, and contrary to the charitable and forgiving ſpirit of the goſpel.

The mixed character of *Henry* VIII. renders it impoſſible to ſpeak of him, without blending great virtues and great vices together. He was a prince endued with good ſenſe and ſtrong natural abilities, but of ſuch violent paſſions, that he did not always attend to juſtifiable means in the proſecution of his deſigns; the ſame vehemence of temper was obſervable in his friendſhips, and reſentments; for he neither favoured nor ruined by halves.

Many of the writers of the *Romiſh* church take particular pains to exalt the earlier actions of his life, that they may laſh him the more ſeverely for his latter failings. The ungrateful and the bitter *Pole* does this whenever he has occaſion to mention him; and by indulging his hatred and his fears of him, was ever alarming himſelf and his friends, that his life was continually in danger, and that *Henry* was never without having ſome of his agents employed in baſe attempts againſt it. We have before obſerved [1], that *Pole* harboured theſe fears of *Henry*, from the very commencement of their rupture, and even before the King could poſſibly have given him the leaſt reaſon for ſuch appre-

[1] P. 147, 148.

henſions.

henſions. From that time his imagination was always foſtering thoſe jealous anxieties, which Mr. *P.* has worked up into real plots; and has related, in the courſe of this hiſtory, and with the utmoſt confidence, ſome circumſtances, which *Pole's* miſtruſt, and his own ingenuity has improved into a real deſign of aſſaſſination.

Three attempts of this kind are particularly mentioned by our author. I ſhall ſay nothing of the firſt, concerning the man *who came to Liege in the evening* (whilſt *Pole* was ſculking there after the diſappointment of his firſt embaſſy) *and left it, on the morrow, before break of day* (p. 202), but that it ſhews the cardinal's great and natural timidity. The ſecond was of *three Italians* who, he ſays, *were hired by King Henry for that purpoſe* (p. 306). But as no other writer of *Pole's* life imputes this guilt to the King, the whole reſts ſolely on Mr. *P's* evidence. The reader, by this time, well knows what degree of credit it deſerves[1]. The next is, of three *ruffians, who were ſeized on ſuſpicion: and who*, it is added, *confeſſed who they were, and on what errand they had been ſent* (p. 306). But let *Pole* himſelf relate the fact, as we find it ſtated in his diſpatches to his friend cardinal *Cervini* at *Rome*, whom he acquainted with the whole ſtory. He tells him, " three perſons, one of

1 *Viterbii tres Italos, necem ſibi molientes, liberari juſſit.* (*Vita Poli, p.* 56,) is all that is ſaid of this attempt.

" them

" them a *Bolognese*, and two young *Englishmen*, who passed for *Flemings*, were stopped " at *Viterbo* on suspicion of some sinister " intentions. On examination, the *Bolognese*, " who pretended to be a merchant, was discovered to be a life-guard man of the King " of *England*, which he confessed, and said " that he came from *England*, and was going " to *Rome*, to place those two young men in " the service of Mr. *Cassali*, who was there. " The two young men owned they were " *Englishmen*, yet still persisted that the other " was a merchant. They appear innocent," says *Pole*, " and to have no bad designs. " This variety in their story occasioned their " being stopped; and, as they will not own " their knowing the *Bolognese* to be in the " King of *England's* service, they may possibly conceal somewhat else for some mischievous purpose." He desires, therefore, *Cervini* would " inquire of *Cassali* as to the " facts, and particularly of the meaning of " an expression in a letter to him, found " on the *Bolognese*, wherein he tells *Cassali* " — *he was coming to talk with him on an* " *affair which he knows of (che esso sa)*." It was this expression, which gave Mr. *P.* the handle to say so peremptorily, that the letter *was penned in the true Catiline style. Cervini's* answer to *Pole* was, " that he had talked " with *Cassali*, who knew no more of the " *Italian*, than that he had been once in his " brother's service, and became afterwards

" of

" of the King's guard. With reſpect to the " letter," he adds, " that his correſpondents " at *Bologna* had written him word, that he " was in truſt to diſcharge ſome debts of his " brother, for which purpoſe he was coming " to *Rome*: but that he had given him no " commiſſion to procure him any ſervants. " The Pope (adds *Cervini*) recommends it to " you, to keep him ſtill in cuſtody, till he " confeſſes the whole truth." To which *Pole* replies, " that he had ſent a meſſenger " on purpoſe to relate what had been done " with regard to theſe ſuſpected perſons, " with a copy of their examination and the " proceſs againſt them; and deſires his in- " ſtructions, either to acquit or puniſh them, " or queſtion them farther, according to " what he ſhall judge they deſerve [1]." This is all the intelligence we can get from *Pole's* letters concerning this affair. That there was any deſign to aſſaſſinate him, muſt be a mere conjecture of the writers of his life.

There is another trifling incident, which Mr. *P's* fertile invention has magnified into another deſign of the ſame nature. He tells us, that *one Ludovico, and an Italian count Bonifacio were hired* (by *Henry*) *to be the ruffians to diſpatch him, and to ſeize him on the road* (p. 340) from *Rome* to *Trent*; where he was going, as a cypher, to open the ſecond

[1] *Quirini, v.* 3. *Ep. Poli, p.* 99, *& ſeq.*

council

council to be aſſembled at that place. But the *documents* referred to by our author, from *Pole's* letters, (for what *Raynaldus* ſays, I know not) do by no means authorize him to be ſo poſitive in his aſſertions. All that we learn from them is, that one of the ſuſpected *ruffians* had been at *Trent* for three days, juſt before *Pole's collegues* arrived there, but that, now, one of them was at *Venice*, the other on his way to *Rome*; and that *Pole* came with his uſual attendants to *Bologna*, but hearing that ſome of *Ludovico's* companions were in the neighbourhood, he took a guard *of five and twenty horſe, for his ſecurity, as far as Mantua*[1]. And afterwards, nothing more was heard of the aſſaſſins or their deſigns.

Upon theſe ſlight ſuſpicions does Mr. *P.* venture to fix upon *Henry* the odious character of a dark aſſaſſin: an accuſation, that does but ill accord with his general way of acting; which, though violent, and not always defenſible, was yet always open and unreſerved. *Pole*, however, who was haunted by his fears, by converſing only with *Italians*, and knowing their dark, revengeful ſpirit, conceived the like opinion of the King's diſpoſition; and was willing to inſinuate, at leaſt, if he could not prove, ſuch ſuſpicions: how far the above-mentioned particulars could juſtify thoſe ſuſpicions, let the reader

1 *Quir. v. 4. Ep. Poli, p.* 184, *&c.* See alſo p. 218.

judge. To grant the utmoſt that can poſſibly be deduced from them: it appears, that though ſome hungry *Italians* might think to make their court to the King of *England* by threatening the exiled cardinal; yet there is not the leaſt ſhadow of a proof, of any actual attempt upon the life of *Pole*, or that the King was any ways acceſſary to ſuch intentions, if any ſuch there were [1].

Mr. *P*, who knoweth not what it is to bluſh, in his relation of *Henry's* expiring moments (which he takes upon the credit of the ſhameleſs *Sanders*) ſays, that *as no writer except cardinal Pole has ſaid ſo much to this Prince's advantage as the above-mentioned, what he relates can be as little ſuſpected of ſlander, as other particulars in his commendation, of flattery* (p. 435). If ſo, it is difficult to gueſs, what *ſlander*, or *commendation* is: for, throughout his book of the *Engliſh* ſchiſm, he labours to expoſe him for every action of his reign. In the entrance of it, the only *commendation* he beſtows upon him, is, that he had a graceful and majeſtic appearance: for he even then begins his ca-

1 As the documents concerning theſe ſuppoſed conſpiracies againſt the life of *Pole* are in *Italian*, a language I am unacquainted with: I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations to my friend and neighbour, the Rev^d Mr. *Benjamin Pye* of *Cheſterton*, for the conſtant aſſiſtance I have received throughout this work, from his skill in that language. And I hope he will favour the public with his comparative view of the merits of *Pole's* biographers.

lumnies,

lumnies, and relates, what others ſpeak nothing of, *Henry's* debauched and diſſolute behaviour; and contraſts his vices with *Catharine's* virtues. And, when ſumming up his character at the cloſe of his life, all the good he ſays of him, is, that he was a patron of learning and learned men; and that in his laſt illneſs he ſhewed ſuch a reverence for the euchariſt, that he would receive it kneeling. But at the ſame time he does not allow him any one moral qualification; and expatiates upon his drunkenneſs, luſt, and cruelty; and then he addeth theſe two delightful ſtories, of *Henry's drinking a goblet of white wine, and ſaying all was loſt, and muttering the word monks in his laſt moments* (p. 435). Fables fit to be told by him, and adopted by thoſe who pay no more regard to truth, than he did. It was a great pity, theſe lies had not been coined ſooner, that the earlier ſlanderers of *Henry's* memory might have countenanced theſe pretty traditional reports, which now reſt upon *Sanders's* evidence alone; an evidence of no credit at all, and ſo often convicted of falſhoods, that whatever he relates will of courſe be always ſuſpected.—We mean not by this to be an advocate for *Henry*, or to diſguiſe his failings: but it is the duty of every honeſt man, to confute ſlanders, and detect lies, invented, and continued, only to ſpread malicious calumnies, which have no apparent foundation, but the malevolence of inveterate hatred.

The little progreſs the reformation made in this King's reign, cannot place him amongſt thoſe Princes who ſupported it; for, excepting aboliſhing the Pope's ſupremacy[1], he lived and died in the perſuaſion of the *Romiſh* church: and if Pope *Clement* VII. had acted in his matrimonial cauſe, with any honour or prudence, even that would not have been invaded; for, though he reſtrained ſome of the lucrative exorbitances of the ſee of *Rome*, the vitals of its faith were not attacked by him; and in his executions on account of religion, he ſhewed greater favour to the Papiſts, than to their opponents, for he burned the latter, and only hanged the former. The way to the reformation in *England* was not opened by *Henry's* divorce, or paſſions, or any encouragement which he gave to the well-wiſhers to it, ſo much as by cauſes intirely independent thereof; ſuch as, the progreſs of literature, the free inquiries which were made into the origin of government, the principles of civil ſociety, and the doctrines of revealed religion unconnected with any ſyſtematical interpretation: all which naturally tended to diſcover the weakneſs of their ancient, ſuperſtitious opinions; and to place the religious and civil obedience of mankind upon its right baſis, the duty which they owed to God, to

1 *Princeps*, ſays the jeſuit *Campian*, *avitæ religionis per omnem ætatem ſervantiſſimus, excepta cauſa pontificia.* *De divortio Hen. VIII. p.* 148.

their

their ſovereign, and their country. It was the inveſtigation of theſe truths, which procured ſo many ſecret friends to the reformation in this kingdom in *Henry's* time; which ſo far eſtabliſhed it in *Edward* the Sixth's reign, that all the fury of *Mary's* zeal only ſtifled it for a time, till it burſt out with ſuch accumulated ſtrength and vigour in the long period of her ſiſter's government; and acquired ſuch a confirmed authority, as has hitherto preſerved, and, we truſt, will effectually prevent this nation from ever ſinking again into the abyſs of papal deſpotiſm, and lawleſs power.

As the influence of ſuch principles could never be agreeable to the arbitrary violence of *Henry's* temper, it is no wonder that he retained his old religious ſentiments. And though neither the friends of the old or new religion were ſatisfied with his conduct; and his memory, upon that account, has ſuffered greatly, from the one, for doing what he did; from the other, for not doing more: yet do we find that in general he was looked upon as one of the moſt conſiderable and reſpectable Princes of his time; and that with all his faults and failings he died, not only reverenced, but beloved and lamented by his ſubjects[1].

1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 196, citing *Strype's* Memorials, v. 2. p. 389. *Thuanus*, *lib.* 3, *A. D.* 1547. *Hume's Tudors*, v. 1. p. 279, and lord *Herbert*, p. 638, and the other hiſtorians of his reign. A fabulous writer of the *Romiſh* church

Upon *Henry's* deceaſe, *Pole*, not knowing how matters would turn out in *England*, began again to intermeddle in the affairs of this kingdom; and was proceeding in the ſame ſteps he had taken formerly, by ſoliciting the Pope and the Emperor to interfere, and by teizing the Privy Council and the young King with thoſe impertinent addreſſes, to which his vanity and his weakneſs impelled him upon every occaſion. As he had been for ſome years an attainted exile, and was one of the few excepted in the act of grace at *Edward's* acceſſion, there was little proſpect that any regard would be paid to his admonitions by thoſe counſellors who were no ſtrangers to his ſpiritual intrigues in the late reign; though, out of pure love and kindneſs, he aſſured them, if they liſtened not to him, " the whole realm would be brought

church is of opinion, that " *Luther's* ſoul was tranſmi-
" grated into *Henry* VIII. who, ever after, never ſpake at
" a leſſer rate, than *ſic volo, ſic jubeo:* who both of them,
" ſince their fall from the catholic church, pulled down
" reaſon and ſet up will." See *Bailey's* (or *Hall's*) life of biſhop *Fiſher*, c. 3, p. 34. But the honeſt man forgot to tell his readers, whoſe ſoul was *tranſmigrated* into *Henry* before *Luther's* death, for the King could not well have his ſoul before that time; and he did not live a full year after that reformer died. Had he known a little more of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, he would have aſſigned that place to the ſoul of that famous *French* lawyer *Nogaret*, the moſt intrepid and inveterate enemy the Popes ever had before *Luther*, and the only man who quelled the haughty ſpirit of the inſolent *Boniface* VIII.

Moſheim, v. 1. p. 721—724.

" into

" into imminent danger, and that the Pope, " with his allies, could alone prevent the im- " pending ſtorm, and be of more ſervice to " them than all other Princes without him: " that his holineſs propoſed therefore, in " charity to their ſouls, to ſend him over " with ſufficient authority, not only to give " them good advice, but alſo to remedy " their evils [1]." But all would not do. *The members of the Privy Council refuſed to receive either the meſſage, or him who brought it* (p. 439).

Mr. *P.* ſeems to know as little, almoſt, how things went on in *England* at this time, as his cardinal did. He tells us, *Edward had ſcarce filled the throne, when ſeveral acts againſt different tenets of the ancient belief were preparing to be brought into the houſe: and the Emperor, who had notice of it, ſignified his reſentment to the Engliſh ambaſſador in very high terms. Theſe acts were not paſſed ſo ſoon as was imagined* (p. 439): and that the cardinal *ſeemed* to impute *this delay to that*

1 *Qui unus (ſc. ſummus Pontifex) vobis ad removenda omnia quæ impendent incommoda & pericula prodeſſe plus poterit, cum per ſe, tum propter fœdera principum, quos ſibi adjunctos habet, quam reliqui omnes principes ſine eo. Idem autem me ad vos, ea authoritate præditum, mittere cogitat, qua plurimum rebus veſtris prodeſſe poſſum, non ſolum ut conſilia vobis ſalutaria ſuggeram, ſed ipſa quoque remedia afferam, modo ea a vobis eo animo recipiantur, quo offeruntur.*

Quir. v. 4. *Ep. Poli ad conſiliarios reg. Angliæ, p.* 44.

Prince's authority, and *his confeſſor Soto's* influence over him. Whereas the parliament did not meet till near 10 months after the King's acceſſion, and *Pole's* letter to *Soto* is dated the beginning of *April*, when *Edward had ſcarce filled the throne*, having ſat in it but little more than two months. But *Pole* and *Soto* ſeem to have had very little intereſt with the Emperor, who did not chuſe to interfere in the adminiſtration of *Engliſh* affairs at all. Some time after, indeed, he requeſted that the princeſs *Mary* might be indulged in the liberty of her religion, which accordingly was connived at; till difficulties ariſing upon it, that permiſſion was withdrawn; upon which the Emperor proceeded to threats; but "perceiving (ſays Sir *John Hayward*) "that his threats were little regarded, re-"garded little to threaten any more[1]."

Notwithſtanding the cardinal's unſucceſsful application to the Council, his reſtleſs genius, not ſatisfied with that repulſe, urged him to try whether *Edward* himſelf might not countenance an immediate appeal to the throne. With this view he inſcribed a treatiſe to him, which is a laboured, prolix vindication of his behaviour to his father, written indeed with much greater temper and moderation, but with the ſame fanatical ſpi-

1 Life of *Edward* VI, p. 293. *Heylin*, p. 104. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 256.

rit,

rit, as the apology to the Emperor. Had this *remonſtrance been permitted to reach the Prince, to whom it is addreſſed* (p. 441), ſo penetrating a youth as King *Edward* could not but have diſcerned and deteſted the falſeneſs, prevarication and impiety with which it doth moſt eminently abound. For what can be more impious and abominable, than *Pole's* aſcribing his whole conduct, in his writing and publiſhing his ſcurrilous letters, to the immediate direction, and irreſiſtible impulſe of God, as he hath in a multitude of places? than his profane, ſcandalous perverſion of SS? than his calling God to witneſs (what muſt be falſe) his extreme love for *Henry*, and citing the word of God to ſanctify his ſplenetic ſcurrility? Had he been the good man he pretends, and would repreſent himſelf to be, he would have been content to die an exile, rather than ſeek to be recalled, by ſuch arts. How could he think to perſuade or convince that virtuous young monarch, that he was all the while leading him to Chriſt, when he was inſtructing him to abhor the memory of his father, and with true enthuſiaſtical cant denouncing God's judgments againſt him and his people, if he attended not to his exhortations? This, in few words, is the ſubſtance of this addreſs to *Edward* VI. by which the reader will be enabled to judge whether or no it merits the ſingular commendations beſtowed upon it by Mr. *P.* who is ſo liberal, upon every turn, in offering

ing up the groſſeſt incenſe to the manes of his favourite character[1].

Edward's miniſters were, it ſeems, ſo far from wanting this officious and impertinent director, that *the leading part of them were bent on ſubverting every meaſure the cardinal had recommended to the young King . . . . In a word, aboliſhing the ancient religion* (p. 442). To make *this appear*, in the repreſentation which Mr. *P.* pleaſes to give of religious matters in this reign, he rummages about for matter of abuſe; and collects, from *Heylin* and *Collier*, every ſimple action and unguarded expreſſion related by them, which have the leaſt tendency to defame the friends of the reformation; without attending to what is offered by thoſe very writers in juſtification of them. Though we do not think the principles of the reformation in the leaſt af-

[1] How this letter to *Edward* VI, after being preſerved in private for ſo many years, came to be communicated to the world, Mr. *P.* learned from *Quirini*; as alſo the account inſerted in his note, concerning the ſeveral editions of *Pole's* work on the church's unity, where he has again made the ſame blunder before taken notice of, p. 158, mentioning the *Straſburgh* edition of that work, as if it was printed with the *Notes of Vigerius*; whereas *Quirini*, in the place before him, ſaid only, *cum Vergerii præfatione, v.* 4, *App. p.* XXXIV. *Sotomajor* ſays the ſame, and hath put this edition down in his black book: though he owns that work of *Pole's* to be catholic and good, *tamen* (adds that judge of orthodoxy) *illa prohibentur, quæ ſimul cum illa impreſſa ſunt, videlicet quidam aliorum libri contra Papæ primatum, & præfatio Petri Pauli Vergerii autoris damnati. Index lib. prohib. &c. p.* 878.

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fected, by the indiſcreet zeal of ſome perſons, or the rapine and ſacrilege of others: yet ſince many diſorders and irregularities are are invidiouſly repreſented as *the pernicious conſequences of the tenets* (p. 442) of the reformation, juſtice ſolicits us to ſtop the venom of a petulant adverſary, careleſs whether his accuſations are true or falſe, ſo they are but confidently made. He beginneth his abuſe, *from what was practiſed with reſpect to the holy euchariſt, on which* (ſays he) *I ſhall be ſomething particular.* But firſt he tells us, that, *preachers were ſent about the kingdom, to diſſuade the people from aſſiſting at maſs, from invocation of ſaints, veneration of their images . . . , and ſeveral other articles, which,* forgetting ſurely that he was writing in a proteſtant country, he averreth, with a contemptible audacity, *all antiquity had received with reverence, and practiſed with profit:* but men, more learned than himſelf, have demonſtrated the novel introduction of them into the church, and marked their rapid progreſs in the reign of ſuperſtition and credulity. To proceed with our hiſtorian; who ſays, *ſoon after, altars were taken down, to withdraw the people from the opinion of the maſs,* citing in the margin Doctor *Burnet,* but without directing us to the volume or page, and leaving out two very material and ſignificant words[1]. He goes

1 *Burnet,* v. 2, p. 159. The Biſhop's words are theſe, *ſuperſtitious* opinions of the *popiſh* maſs.

on:

on: *the uſe was introduced of receiving the ſacrament ſitting* (p. 443). But this was not done by the reformed church of *England*, whoſe *rubric*, to ſtop and prevent this indecency, preſcribed *kneeling*; *ſitting* was the practice of one ſingle congregation of foreigners only, no way ſubſervient to, or connected with it. Tho', methinks, it is ſomething ſtrange to find this poſture objected againſt by any of the *Romiſh* church, when their own infallible head ſanctifies this *uſe*, by receiving the euchariſt ſitting [1]. But *impiety went ſtill greater lengths*, and to the *horrour* of our devout biographer, *men affirmed, that this memorial and pledge of our ranſom was of little worth; and in many places it was uſed with the greateſt indignities, thrown out of the churches, and other enormities committed.* May we not ask here, who were theſe profane and *impious* wretches? were they any of the leaders of the reformed party? and where did Mr. *P.* get this particular information? He tells us in the margin, from the regiſter-book of the pariſh of *Petworth*. Has he then inſpected the regiſter he ſo boldly refers to? is he ſure he hath not appealed to a non-entity? I can inform him, that no ſuch regiſter-book for that reign is extant; unleſs he has fortunately found, what the pariſh itſelf has unfortunately loſt, and will thank him for returning: for the preſent regiſter goes

1 *Durand. Rational. lib.* 4, *c.* 54, *n.* 5. cited in *Wheatley* on the Liturgy, c. 6, ſect. 23, p. 317.

no

no farther back than the beginning of *April* 1559; and there is not a ſingle paſſage in it, upon which a charge, injurious to the reformation, can poſſibly be founded[1]. We will therefore ſuppoſe, the zealous writer of the old regiſter took it away with him at the acceſſion of Q. *Elizabeth*, leſt heretics ſhould eraſe or cancel it; that at his death he bequeathed it to Dr. *Heylin*, from whom it went to *Collier*, and that from him it hath deſcended to our hiſtorian, with whom it may remain; for after all, what doth it prove? nothing more than that the rector of the pariſh, or ſome other devotee of the ancient ſuperſtition, vexed to ſee the progreſs of the reformation, took care, as far as in him lay, to propagate the ſlanders of the times, and vent his own malice: for the extract, as cited by *Heylin*, after that part of it which is produced to ſerve our author's purpoſes, goeth on thus; " which they ſe-" conded by oppugning the eſtabliſhed cere-" monies, as holy water, holy bread, and " divers other uſages of the ſeven ſacra-" ments[2]." But Mr. *P.* has himſelf ſilenced the cavils that might be made *with reſpect to the holy euchariſt* (p. 442), by confeſſing, that to prevent *this profane licentiouſneſs there was an act of parliament paſſed, in the firſt year of Edward's reign, againſt ſuch as ſpoke againſt*

1 This I am aſſured of by the reverend Mr. *Wickins*, the preſent Rector.

2 *Heylin, Edw.* 6, p. 63, 64.

the

the ſacrament of the altar (p. 443). And we will add, that it piouſly reſtored to that ſacred rite, that part of it, which the wanton power of the *Romiſh* church had, in defiance as it were of its Divine Founder, wickedly deprived her members of, " by enjoining it to " be miniſtered to the people in both kinds " of bread and wine, as more conformable " to the common uſe and practice of the " apoſtles and primitive church, by the ſpace " of 500 years and more after Chriſt's aſcen- " ſion [1]."

Our exact hiſtorian goes on, in the next paragraph, to bewail the demolition of *the images of the ſaints, and their ſhrines*, and the loſs of *the plate, jewels, and other coſtly ornaments which* (he ſays) *were the ſame year, by the King's order, ſeized, and the ſpoil divided amongſt thoſe who adviſed the ſacrilege* (p. 443). The ſhrines, and many of the images, were pulled down in the laſt reign: but the *plate, jewels, &c.* were not *ſeized and their ſpoil divided the ſame year*, that is the firſt of this King's reign, but the laſt; not till 1553, not long before the King's death, and when he was in bad hands. *Soon after*, we are told, *the King and Council forbade aſhes to be received, and candles and palms to be carried on the days that bear thoſe names.* This order was iſſued out the beginning of 1548, and

1 Parliamentary Hiſtory, v. 3, p. 223. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 236. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 41.

for

for this good reaſon, " becauſe they were " ſuperſtitious additions to the worſhip of " God [1]."

The next paragraph contains a diſmal account of the Protector's rapine and ſacrilege: here Mr. *P.* is in ſuch haſte to expreſs his indignation, that he unfortunately ſets out with a blunder. *Somerſet* houſe, he ſays, *was built on the ruins of the deanery and cloſe of Weſtminſter* (p. 444): whereas *Heylin* could have told him truly, that whatever intentions the Duke might formerly have had of diſſolving that chapter, yet he was bought off, and therefore he fixed his eye upon a piece of ground in the *Strand* [2]." We will agree with Mr. *P.* that he was guilty of ſome acts of rapine and ſacrilege, but let him not be charged with what he did not do. *Barking* chapel was a ſmall monaſtery adjoining to *Barking* church, which was ſuppreſſed and pulled down in 1548 [3]. St. *Martin's le Grand* was another foundation of the ſame kind, ſuppreſſed the ſame year, and given to the chapter of *Weſtminſter*, who leaſed it out, and ſold the materials [4]. St. *Ewin's* and St. *Nicholas's* churches had been given by *Henry* VIII. to the city of *London*

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 59.

2 P. 60 and 72. If Mr. *P.* will not believe his friend *Heylin*, let him go to *Weſtminſter* or the *Strand*, and convince himſelf.

3 *Stowe's* Survey, laſt edition. V. 1, p. 375.

4 *Heylin*, p. 60.

towards

towards erecting *Chriſt-Church* and *Grey-Fryars*[1]. In the demolition of theſe ſtructures, the Protector was not concerned any further, perhaps, than in buying and uſing the materials: he was not therefore guilty of all the ſacrilege laid to his charge. We do not pretend to juſtify the oppreſſive actions which the great men about the King, frequently did with too much impunity, to the grief of their own preachers, who remonſtrated freely againſt theſe crimes, and reproved thoſe great and haughty ſinners for their offences: nor do we offer any vindication of the Protector: though we muſt be excuſed if we cannot think, that his erecting *this pile of ſacrilege* was any cauſe of the *peſtilence, which ſwept away ſo many thouſands, the very year it was reared* (p. 444); and which indeed began the year before. The pulling down ſo many churches, and diſturbing the burial places of the dead, and carrying their bodies to other places, were indeed acts of great wrong and violence; "Yet this "notice of former ſuperſtitions was gained "by this barbarity uſed by him and others. ". . . . That among a great number of "rotten carcaſes were found caskets full of "pardons, ſafely folded and lapt together in "the bottom of their graves[2]."

1 *Stowe's* Survey, p. 627. 628, and 682. *Heylin*, p. 128.

2 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 2, p. 181.

The

The next objection, which our author bringeth to aſperſe the reformers, is concerning *abſtinence from fleſh*, and the keeping of *Lent*. Here he again kindly refutes himſelf, by adding, that *upon biſhop Gardiner's complaint a proclamation came forth, which enjoined the obſervance of Lent; and the King's lenten diet was ſerved up as formerly* (p. 444): and farther ſtill, an act of parliament was paſſed the next year to inforce that proclamation [1]. But what ſort of men they were which vented theſe *novelties*, that they were time-ſervers and hypocrites, we may learn by the following inſtance. The *preacher*, mentioned by Mr. *P. who informed his audience, that Lent was a political ordinance, and might be ſet aſide at pleaſure*, made his peace afterwards with *Pole*, who forgave him this offence, though his biographer cannot: for Dr. *Glazier* (which was his name) was in ſuch high favour in the next reign of ſaints, that the cardinal himſelf honoured him ſo far, as to make him one of the inquiſitors under him, to proſecute heretics [2].

The goſpellers, as they are called, do next offend the zeal of our hiſtorian, *who aſſerted the blaſphemous doctrine of Calvin, that God is the author of ſin* (p. 445). Biſhop *Hooper*, ſays *Heylin*, charges theſe goſpellers with

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 95. Parliamentary Hiſtory, v. 3, p. 246.

2 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 2, p. 25, and v. 3, p. 452.

maintaining this doctrine [1]; which he would not have done if they had been *Calvin's* disciples: so far from that, our author might have learned from *Collier* that *Calvin* himself wrote against them and their principles, in a letter to the Protector [2]. *The dotages of the Anabaptists* are mentioned here with no other view, but to expose that heinous sin of *archbishop Cranmer*, who *took his seat on an altar of the blessed Virgin, in St. Paul's church, when he examined some of them:* but this sin must be laid at the door of that precious saint, bishop *Bonner*, who, himself, or by his officers, as the archbishop told him to his face, prepared the scaffold whereon he was to sit; and whether (said he) there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it. And this he spoke, when that holy prelate, with his usual meekness and good-nature, insulted his metropolitan in his affliction, for sitting, like *Lucifer*, in the place of Christ, upon an altar [3].

But it is not enough for our biographer to insult his countrymen: foreigners also must come in for their share of personal scurrility. The candid and the moderate *Cranmer* thought the best way to come at truth, would be to advise with those of the greatest character for learning and piety. With this view, he encouraged a correspondence with the mild and

1 *Heylin*, p. 93. 2 *Collier*, v. 2, p. 284.
3 *Fox*, v. 3, p. 663.

excellent

excellent *Melanĉthon*, and with *Calvin*, the great director of the *French* churches. Amongſt others whom, he invited into *England*, as a place of ſecurity from perſecution, and who accepted his invitation, were *Martyr*, *Ochin*, and *Alaſco*; who are here diſtinguiſhed by our author's falſe and injurious calumnies. *Martyr* and *Ochin*, ſaith he, *were particularly employed to compile a liturgy* (p. 445). *Martyr* and *Bucer*, if he pleaſes, were conſulted, (but not *Ochin*) upon the review of the Liturgy [1]. *Martyr* and *Ochin* ſays Mr. *P. were both monks*, and yet *entered on a marriage-ſtate, which, though honourable in all, was incompatible with their vows.* If an inſpired apoſtle ſhall expreſsly ſay, *that ſtate is honourable* IN ALL, who ſhall preſume to ſay, that conſtrained vows of celibacy are not diſhonourable and unlawful? But *Martyr*, quoth he, was a profeſſed *Zuinglian*. He knows nothing of *Martyr* who can aſſert this. Let Mr. *P.* conſult his diſſertation upon the euchariſt [2]; and then, if he knows what it is to be aſhamed, let him be aſhamed. He has ignorantly traduced a good, a learned, and a modeſt perſon, for eſpouſing a doctrine, which, as profeſſor of divinity in *Oxford*, he did formally, and *ex cathedra* oppoſe: it will not leſſen the malignity of theſe calumnies to urge that they are derived from the informa-

1 *Strype's* Life of *Cranmer*, p. 210. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 309.
2 *Martyris loci communes*, p. 995, 996. *Strype's* Mem. v. 2, p. 196. Life of *Cranmer*, p. 201. *Heylin*, p. 79.

tion of the biſhop of *Meaux* [1], and Dr. *Heylin*. *Ochin*, continues Mr. *P. became afterwards a declared enemy of the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt* (p. 445). There is great reaſon to think he did: but whilſt he was in *England* his character was as unexceptionable in every reſpect, as whilſt he was a member of the *Romiſh* church; when cardinal *Bembo* gave the marchioneſs of *Peſcara* the higheſt encomium of his life [2]; when *Gratiani* ſpoke of him in the warmeſt terms, as a mirror almoſt of zeal and piety, relating that he was revered as a ſaint, and eſteemed univerſally the beſt preacher in *Italy* [3]; when the Emperor himſelf, who heard him at *Naples*, declared that *he preached with ſuch ſpirit and devotion as was ſufficient to make the very ſtones weep* [4]; when cardinal *Caraffa* (afterwards *Paul* IV.) could obſerve no mediocrity in his praiſes of him, but dwelled, with expreſſions of rapture, upon the ardour of his devotion, the vehemence of his preaching, and the ſanctity of his life. [5] Afterwards, when exception was taken againſt what we hope, were rather unguarded, than wilfully offenſive expreſſions; and he was proſcribed from place to place; it is ſome mitigation of his errors, if ſuch violent treatment occaſioned thoſe inconſiſtencies in his later actions

1 *Hiſt. des Var. v.* 1, *l.* 7, *p.* 332.
2 *Quirini*, *v.* 2, *Diat. p.* CCLVI.
3 *Gratiani* in his life of *Commendoni*, cited in *Bayle's* Dict. article *Ochin*, note C.
4 *Moſheim*, *v.* 2, *p.* 73. Note.
5 *Quirini*, *v.* 3, *Diat. p.* LXXXVI *& ſeq.*

and

and writings, that blasted the fair character to which the former part of his life had given him so just a title. After all, he may be greatly injured by the misrepresentations of declared enemies; who, in his life-time, making no allowance for the weaknesses of old age, and a mind continually oppressed by insults, exaggerated all his failings. Candid and impartial posterity will rather deem him an object of compassion, than dwell with pleasure upon his unfortunate fall [1].

Alasco comes next for his share of personal abuse, and is said to have adopted *the errors of Zuinglius* (p. 445). Mr. *P.* should have told us what those errors were. *Zuinglius* is recorded to have been a man of great sanctity of manners, ability and resolution; his doctrine of the eucharist was, that the elements of bread and wine were only signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ [2]. Whether *Alasco* was his, or *Calvin's* disciple, I know not; *Sotomajor* hath marked him for a *Lutheran* heretic [3], and our writer here for a *Zuinglian*, because he found that *Heylin*, *Collier*, and some others speak more reproachfully of *Zuinglius* than *Calvin*. *Alasco*, it seems, *found out twelve different meanings*

1 See more of *Ochin*, *Bayle's* Dict. *Ochin*. *Mosheim*, v. 2, p. 230.

2 *Mosheim*, v. 2, p. 191, 197. See also p. 26, 27, of the same vol.

3 *Johannes a Lasco Polonus*. *Luth. Theol. Index prohib: &c. p.* 631.

of the words of the inſtitution of the euchariſt; but whether any, or all, or none of them were contrary to the true doctrine, we are ſtill to ſeek. If this be heretical, Dr. *Waterland* hath almoſt as much to anſwer for, as *Alaſco*; for the Doctor, in his learned review of the euchariſt, hath taken notice of *Ten* of the moſt noted names under which it hath been anciently ſpoken of[1]. And if any ſhall be inclined to think this an impeachment either of the Doctor's or the reformer's orthodoxy, we will offer this apology for them both; and, in the language of one who carried his notions of the efficacy of the euchariſt to the higheſt pitch: "as the nature, office, and "condition of our Saviour could not be made "known to us, but by a variety of diffe-"rent names and titles aſcribed to him, ſo "the nature, end and effects of this holy "ſacrament could not be made known unto "us, but by a variety of different names "and titles aſcribed to it[2]." But further ſtill, *Alaſco rejected baptiſm, which, he ſaid, was become an idolatry* (p. 445). I cannot help looking upon this as one of Mr. *P's* borrowed untruths, becauſe I find this reformer recorded as an early writer againſt, and ſtrenuous oppoſer of, *Menno's* doctrine, who was the founder of the *Anabaptiſts* in *Holland*. As for *his other frenzies*, when they

1 *Waterland's* Review, c. 1, p. 24 *& ſeq.*
2 *Law's* Anſwer to the Plain Account, *&c.* p. 126.

are

are produced, it will be time enough either to acquit or condemn him. He is univerſally repreſented as a perſon of great learning and piety: this character he bore through life; and is only cenſurable for meddling, rather more than became him, in the diſputes about ceremonies [1].

Thus have we ſeen how far what is *related by Mr. P*, as *matter of fact, in which all hiſtory is agreed* (p. 446), is chargeable on the leading reformers in *England*. He has, however, made a flouriſhing reference at the bottom of his page, and has ſtuffed it with a number of vouchers to confirm his evidence. But do any of them (beſides *Boſſuet*) impute theſe corruptions to the principles of the reformation? for unleſs that is ſhewn, nothing is gained by general and random exclamations. Our author's principal guide is *Heylin*, next to him is *Collier*, (for the others are named but by way of parade) men indeed of reading and abilities, but of ſoured tempers; and who, writing under the impreſſion of ſtrong paſſions and prejudices, took too much pleaſure in defaming thoſe, who did not fully come up to their notions of church communion, and are therefore to be read with ſome caution and allowance [2].

1 *Strype*, v. 2, p. 240. Life of *Cranmer*, p. 234 *& ſeq.* Life of *Parker*, p. 288. *Carte*. v. 3, p. 254. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 292. *Heylin*, p. 92. See more of him, *Adamus Vit. exter. Theol. p.* 19. *Verheiden*, *p.* 88. and *Clarke*, p. 572. *Fuller's Abel. Rediv. p.* 243.

2 Biſhop *Burnet*, conſidering the provocation given

 him,

A long quotation from biſhop *Burnet*, to prove the iniquities of the times, cloſes the rear. Mr. *Dod* had been beforehand with our author, in making this particular appeal[1]: and they were both ſo well ſatisfied with it, that they would not give themſelves the trouble of turning over *the following page*, becauſe, then, they muſt have obſerved, that though the biſhop hath candidly acknowledged the profligacy of ſome who had liſted under the banners of the reformation; yet, that he hath added, immediately after the paſſages which theſe two adverſaries of the reformation have ſo eagerly caught at, "it is true, "there were great and ſhining lights amongſt "the profeſſors of the goſpel, whoſe exemplary deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and conſtant zeal, both during their lives, and at their death, kept "up the credit of the reformation, as much "as it was diſgraced by others, though *few* "in compariſon of the *many* bad. This" he tells us, "was much lamented by the "good men of that time[2]." And we know how zealouſly *Latimer*[3], *Lever*[4], *Knox*[5], holy

him, has very gently ſhewn both the ſpirit and the temper of *Collier* and his hiſtory, in the preface to the 3d volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 111 *& ſeq.* And Mr. *Lewis* of *Margate*, in his life of *Reginald Pecock*, p. 174, *Note.* p. 196 and 271. and in his life of *Wicliff*, p. 187 *& ſeq*, has detected ſome of his miſrepreſentations.

1 V. 1, p. 350.

2 *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 218. 3 In almoſt all his ſermons. See alſo *Strype's* Memorials, v. 2, p. 439.

4 *Id. ib.* p. 258. 5 *Id. ib.* p. 397.

Gilpin,

Gilpin[1], and others, thundered againſt theſe iniquities, in all their public diſcourſes. The truth is, the purity of a religion is no more to be eſtimated by the lives of its profeſſors, than the excellency of any civil conſtitution is affected, becauſe violent and wicked men offend againſt the laws of it.

At this time, and by our author's own confeſſion, a general corruption of manners prevailed every where, in *his* church as well as *ours*; " not," as Mr. *Strype* well remarks, " that theſe days of King *Edward* were worſe " than the former, but that now, upon the " light of the goſpel, theſe wickedneſſes that " were not ſo much regarded before, were " now more obſerved[2]." And this was occaſioned, not as Mr. *P.* and his trifling vouchers[3] in the margin preſumptuouſly ſay, *by*

1 *Id. ibid. p.* 369, 440. 2 *Id. ib. p.* 453.

3 The three authors, biſhop *White*, *Weſton*, and *Hubbard*, whom Mr. *P.* has thrown into his margin, for the greater parade of ſhewing his reading, and whom he hath made to talk ſo learnedly upon *the authority of the church, and the criterion of truth and falſhood*, he found all together in the ſame page in *Heylin*, (*p.* 106) where they are introduced upon the ſubject of changing altars into tables. It would ſwell this Note to too great a length, to dwell upon the inſolence, the profaneneſs, the effrontery of *White* and *Weſton*: the words which *Heylin* hath put down, were ſpoken, when theſe boiſterous, prating and mercileſs zealots were hunting *Ridley* and *Latimer* out of their lives: I ſhall content myſelf with referring to *Heylin's* author, *Fox*, in his book of martyrs, v. 3, p. 85. the diſputation of Mr. *Latimer* at *Oxford*, and the laſt examination of *Ridley* and *Latimer* before the commiſſioners. p. 496, 497. In which the reader will ſee ignorance, bigotry, and cruelty in perfection.

departing

departing from the authority of, what they vainly call, *the church*, but by men of no religious principles at all, pretending a zeal for the reformation, only to undermine it the more ſucceſsfully; calling themſelves outwardly the friends of that cauſe, to render it by their actions, the more offenſive; and fomenting diviſions, to promote the intereſt of that religion which they had not left: for ſuch purpoſes as theſe, all meaſures were fair and ſanctified. Many are the inſtances in Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, of diſpenſations granted by the Pope, for the active inſtruments of darkneſs to put on any ſhape, and to appear as preachers, as puritans, as merchants, as ſoldiers, *&c.* ſo they could any ways carry on the ſpirit of diſſention, and ruin that church, whoſe peace, purity and proſperity is the conſtant object of their implacable animoſity[1]. They began this diabolical craft early in *Edward's* reign: for we read of two pretended *Anabaptiſts*, who were ſent over into *England*, and recommended to the care of *Gardiner*, and another biſhop, who, being upon the ſpot, could give them the right cue, and the ſureſt directions to do the moſt miſchief[2].

Theſe were great obſtructions to the progreſs of the reformation; and if to theſe be added, the King's minority, a divided admi-

1 *Strype's* Hiſtory, v. 1. p. 220, 221, 375, 376, 484, 485, 521, *&c.*

2 *Id.* Life of *Cranmer*, p. 207. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 252.

niſtration,

niſtration, and the coldneſs and indolence of many of thoſe who engaged to ſupport it, we ſhall ceaſe to wonder at the melancholy account which ſome writers give us of the ſtate of religion during this unſettled reign: it was diſturbed by hypocrites; by diſſolute people; by thoſe who hankered after the revenues of the church; by greedy courtiers, who were of no religion at all, but, with every revolution of government, profeſſed that which was uppermoſt; by many who "outwardly conformed themſelves unto the "King's proceedings . . . . and injunctions, "but inwardly preſerved their good-will to "their former ſuperſtitions [1]. Such was the caſe then, and ſuch will it ever be in ſimilar circumſtances. Offices and lucrative employments in the ſtate were the appointments of thoſe chiefly who admitted the new regulations in the church. Is it then to be wondered if there were found many time-ſervers and hypocrites, men without honour or any ſerious regard to religion, who adopted the latter merely for the ſake of the former. But the reformation is not chargeable with their irregularities, nor is it to be impeached for the diſſolute conduct of its pretended profeſſors. Their wicked lives were then conſtantly rebuked by their zealous and pious preachers; and we now are ſtill ready to condemn them, and to join with Mr. *P.* in cenſuring them to the utmoſt: but let us be permitted

1 *Strype's* Memorials, v. 2, p. 204.

at

at the ſame time to applaud the virtues of thoſe great and good men, who in the midſt of the worſt examples and the moſt unfavourable circumſtances perſevered uprightly in thoſe principles which from conviction and conſcience they had embraced. This was the ſtate of religion during this reign, beginning to ſhine, and ſometimes blazing out, but ſoon overſhadowed and darkened by intervening clouds. We are firmly perſuaded of this, that the cruelties of the ſucceeding Prince moſt effectually eſtabliſhed that church ſhe intended to root out, and which the ſtate of affairs in *Edward's* reign had well nigh undermined; for then, as gold is tried in the fire, ſo were acceptable men in the furnace of adverſity, and their ſeed took root downward, and hath born fruit upward to this day, and ſtill promiſeth a flouriſhing perpetuity.

In all theſe revolutions, ſaith Mr. *P*, *the frame of the ſtate had not been leſs convulſed than that of the church* (p. 446). How ſo? *The regency was ſet aſide, and the duke of Somerſet inveſted with the whole power* (p. 447), many *commotions appeared, which threatened the tranquillity of the whole kingdom*. True: ſome malevolent, intriguing, diſcontented prieſts had art enough to raiſe inſurrections, but had neither power nor ability to conduct them; the demands of the rebels were rejected, and they were ſoon quelled. The Protector's *fall muſt be placed, amongſt thoſe revolutions, which had been*

cauſed

cauſed by them (p. 448). This is new, but let it paſs. *He had taken the title of duke of Somerſet, by the divine permiſſion* (p. 449). Where did Mr. *P.* get this anecdote? if he will conſult his friend *Heylin*, he will tell him, his *title* ran *by the grace of God*, and alſo how well beloved in general he was by the common people [1]. The rupture between him and his brother proved unfortunate to them both. Their common enemies continued to irritate the duke ſo much againſt him, that he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſign the warrant for his execution: though we learn from the moſt unexceptionable authority, "that if the admiral had been ſuffered "to have ſpoken with the duke, he had "never ſuffered; but the perſuaſions that "were made to him were ſo great, that he "(the duke) was brought in belief that he "could not live ſafely, if the admiral lived; "and that made him give his conſent to his "death [2]." By theſe means, he loſt that ſtrength, which, if united with his own power, might have ſupported him in his authority: and he fell, as Mr. *P.* truly obſerves, *a victim to the intrigues of one . . . more ambitious than himſelf* (p. 449): "loſing his life "for a ſmall crime, and that upon a nice "point ſubtilly deviſed, and packed by his

1 *Heylin*, p. 118.

2 A MS. letter of the Princeſs, afterwards Queen, *Elizabeth* to Queen *Mary*. *Vid.* Appendix, N° 11.

"ene-

" enemies [1]." Our hiſtorians are full of the general good-will the nation bore to the Protector. Even at this diſtance of time, we cannot but pity our church and ſtate for the villainous hands they fell into after his death, and lament that the good young King was ſurrounded by harpies, who neither regarded the kingdom's credit, the good of religion, the King's honour, nor perhaps his life.

The nation was ſoon deprived of the pleaſing expectation it had formed from the King's amazing parts and unwearied application to buſineſs; and whilſt his ſubjects flattered themſelves that he would be their delight and joy, they ſaw him decay apace, and finiſh his career of glory, before, almoſt, he had entered upon it. Mr. *P*, to give us his ſentiments of this event, has refered to a paſſage in the book of *Eccleſiaſtes*: we therefore will cloſe our remarks upon this reign with an obſervation, drawn alſo from ſcripture: that God in his mercy took the young King to Himſelf, that, like Joſiah, his eyes might not ſee all the evil that He would bring upon this place and upon the inhabitants of the ſame: He graciouſly deferred the chaſtiſement of this nation, and ſent not upon her, till after his deceaſe, a rod in his anger and a FURY to ſcourge her.

In the midſt of theſe confuſions . . . . an incident, ſays Mr. *P*, *happened, which gave*

[1] *Camden's Britannia, Somerſetſhire.* Ed. 1637, p. 240 at the concluſion.

cardinal

cardinal Pole an opportunity of ſhewing a moderation of deſires and greatneſs of ſoul (p. 449, 450). Which, we are to ſuppoſe, he eminently diſplayed by the refuſal of the proffered popedom: this he certainly loſt by his own folly and wilfulneſs; behaving during the whole conteſt, to uſe his own expreſſion, like an inſenſible beaſt; ſo that, conſidering the factions in the conclave, which laſted not *two* (p. 453), but three *months*, it was impoſſible for his friends to ſerve him effectually, ſince they could neither know whether he would or would not be Pope: his deportment was ſo ſtrange and unaccountable throughout, that he at laſt ſufficiently convinced them, that he was not in the leaſt qualified for any active ſtation of life. The hiſtory of *this tranſaction, and of the cardinal's behaviour and ſentiments of the whole affair* (p. 452), is very circumſtantially related in his letter to his friend the *biſhop of Navarra, to whom . . . . he opened himſelf without reſerve.* Many paſſages are brought by Mr. *P*, from this letter, to illuſtrate the cardinal's *ſteadineſs and greatneſs of mind.* But how well they anſwer this purpoſe, will beſt appear, when a few of Mr. *P's* chaſms are filled up.

The letter itſelf is exceedingly long, and as it was written four months after the affair was over, the cardinal had had time enough to recover and recollect his ſenſes. His friend the biſhop of *Navarra* had, it ſeems, complimented him upon his magnanimity and fortitude

fortitude; *Pole*, in his anſwer, tells him, that this was ſo far from being the ſtate of his mind, that they made truer conjectures who attributed his conduct to a mean and indolent diſpoſition; but that the opinion of others was ſtill nearer the truth, who ſuppoſed he was frightened at the greatneſs of the burthen [1]. He tells him farther, and calleth God to witneſs, that when ſeveral in the conclave offered him their voices, he was no more affected than if he had been one of thoſe beaſts who neither deſire nor deſpiſe honours, becauſe they have no ſenſe of them [2]. And afterwards, when one of the leading men offered him all the aſſiſtance in his power; I made him, ſays he, no reply, any more than if he had been talking to a beaſt; I abſolutely held my tongue . . . . I did not ſpeak a word, and though I afterwards corrected this fault of taciturnity, yet as to the paſſions of joy or grief, I had no more feeling of them, than if I had been a beaſt whom nature had deprived of all ſenſe of honour [3]. And

1 *Ut judicarem, minus in ea exprimenda erraſſe eos, qui me contrario vitio, id eſt puſilli animi & ignaviæ accuſarunt, proxime vero ad veritatem acceſſiſſe orationem eorum, qui me oneris magnitudine deterritum, minus parato ad id ſubeundum animo fuiſſe dixerunt.*

Quirini, v. 4, Ep. Poli Epiſcopo Pacenſi, p. 55.

2 *Nihilo magis (teſtor Deum) afficiebar illorum vocibus, ac ſi unum ex illis jumentis fuiſſem, quæ honorem propterea neque deſiderant, neque ſpernunt, quia nullum ejus ſenſum a natura inſitum habent. Id. ib. p. 57.*

3 *Ad hæc quidem non aliter reſpondi, ac ſi dicta jumento fuiſſent, prorſus enim tacui . . . . ne vocem plane miſi . . . . quod taciturnitatis vitium etſi poſtea correxi . . . tamen*

quod

when two of the moſt conſiderable of his order acquainted him, that they had now got a ſufficient number in his favour; and intreated him to come into the chapel and receive their adoration. Then, "becauſe his cell "was the neareſt to the right of the great "chapel, he looked upon himſelf as the "aſs, that was tyed at its maſter's gate, "when Chriſt ſent two of his diſciples to "looſe it and bring it to him, that he might "ride upon it into the holy city: theſe," "ſays he, "were my thoughts; though "others may think, I was not that aſs, be-"cauſe I was not immediately looſed and "brought. I, by no means," adds he, "ſcorned to conſent, but I feared the night "and darkneſs; whether this was right or "no, I will not diſpute now: nor am I of-"fering an apology for what I did, but only "relating what was done. I was indeed "fearful of night and darkneſs, as being an "improper ſeaſon to looſe that beaſt, upon "which the meek King was to enter the "holy city, that is the church, which the "SS. declare to be done in broad day light: "I therefore deſired the matter might be de-"ferred till the light[1]." Was this canting

quod ad illos animi ſenſus attinet vel lætitiæ vel doloris . . . . nihilo certe plus ego ſenſi, id eſt quam ſi jumentum ejus generis factus eſſem, quod natura omni ſenſu honoris penitus privavit. *Id. ib. p.* 57, 58.

[1] *Quorum mandata ut audivi, . . . mihi certe venit in mentem illius*

likely to recommend him to a parcel of intriguing cardinals? was not ſuch abſurd behaviour the ſureſt way to kindle afreſh the feuds in the conclave, which, he knew, were carried on with dangerous and ſhameful violences [1]. His friends, however, made one effort more to animate this paſſive machine, to rouſe this inſenſible animal; they ſent, a very ſhort time after, a freſh deputation to aſſure him, that they had propoſed nothing, but what was uſual, lawful, and right: by this time he had ſo far recovered him-

illius aſelli, qui cum ad oſtium domini ſui ſtaret alligatus, miſit Chriſtus duos, qui eum ſolverent, & ad ſe adducerent, quod ipſe ſanctam civitatem in eo ſedens ingredi vellet. Sic enim cogitavi, audiens, quæ duo illi in mandatis haberent, eoſque propterea veniſſe, ut me ex eo loco deducerent, quo a dextrâ ingredienti januam majoris ſacelli, tanquam ad oſtium Domini mei alligatus ſtabam (ibi enim conſtituta erat, quæ mihi obtigerat, cella.) Eos igitur ſic audiebam quaſi a Chriſto miſſos; ita vero meipſum intuebar, tanquam aſellum, de quo mox dixi; hæc enim ſpecies mihi de metipſo tum maxime animo obſervabatur, etſi aliis fortaſſe videri poſſim hanc ipſam perſonam depoſuiſſe; propterea quod non ſtatim ab illis me ſolvi ſim paſſus, & deduci. Ego vero conſenſum illum minime ſum aſpernatus, ſed noctem & tenebras (ut verum fatear) extimui. Rectene, an ſecus? Hic non diſputabo; neque enim quam recte fecerim, explicare conſtitui, ſed tantum quid fecerim. Ego igitur, cum noctem & tenebras nonnihil ſuſpectas haberem, ut quæ minime aptæ viderentur ad illud jumentum ſolvendum, in quo Rex ille manſuetus inſidens, civitatem ſanctam, id eſt eccleſiam, ingreſſurus eſſet, quem ſacris literis proditum eſt, clara luce ingreſſum fuiſſe, ut res ad lucem differetur poſtulavi. Id. ib. p. 58, 59.

1 *Periculoſis & minime glorioſis contentionibus,* *Id. ib. p. 62.*

ſelf,

ſelf, that he told them, he would obey their commands; and in this, ſays he, I returned again to perſonate the aſs [1]. But no ſooner were the cardinals retired out of his cell, than he was ſeized with his old qualms, repented of what he had promiſed, and immediately ſent a meſſage to them, deſiring them, if poſſible, to put off the buſineſs till the morning. The cardinals, tired with ſo prepoſterous a mortal, deſerted him at once; and his meſſenger returned, and told him, that he had found them of their own accord, already come to that reſolution; and, to his great ſurprize and diſappointment, he diſcovered the next morning, that they had no occaſion for his attendance in the chapel; *other views and diſpoſitions*, as Mr. *P.* ſays, then *took place* (p. 458) [2].

This was that *behaviour*, which, our hiſtorian ſays, *gave a greatneſs to his private character, which no elevation could have equalled* (p. 459). When a man is determined at all events to utter a panegyric, it is no difficult matter to give a fair and plauſible turn to the abſurdeſt actions. From *Pole's* own narration, it is clear, that he was abſolutely unfit for that high and active ſtation. When the point came to a criſis, and it was requiſite for him to declare, whether he would accept the

1 *In quo ſane mihi videbar ad jumenti perſonam rediiſſe.* *Id. ib. p.* 59.

2 *Idem conſilium ſua ſponte cepiſſe reperit.* *P.* 59.

popedom or no, his whole conduct was ſo ridiculouſly fanatical, that his friends were aſhamed of it, and thought of him no more. The preſent exigences of their church, they well knew, required, in *Pole's* own metaphorical language, a bold and ſteady pilot; and that a *log*, or an *aſs*, would have neither ſkill nor ſagacity ſufficient to ſteer St. *Peter's* ſhip, with an even and ſteady hand, which was now in great jeopardy, toſſed about with violent ſtorms, and in danger of continual attacks from the alarming number of heretical pirates[1]." They turned therefore their eyes (being ſo deceived in him) to another perſon, and the oppoſite party having amuſed *Pole*, till the *French* cardinals could arrive, managed their point ſo artfully, that the popedom ſlipped through his hands when he thought it moſt ſecure; and, when he little dreamed of it, one was put over his head,[2] who had no ſuch fantaſtical ſcruples about the night or the darkneſs, and who thought he could fill St. *Peter's* chair full as well as if he had been choſen in open day light.

When the election was thus determined to the no ſmall diſappointment of our myſtical quietiſt, he then found out, not that he did not repreſent the aſs he had deſcribed, but

1 See p. 130.

2 *Mihi nec opinanti ſignificatum eſt, inter partes tandem conveniſſe, ut, me præterito alterum eligerent. Id. ib. p.* 62.

that

that the Lord did not want that particular one [2]. And he comforted himſelf with this reflection, that as his ſucceſsful competitor was his ſenior in the college of cardinals, and had gone through all the honours of his ſtation before him, and alſo had been firſt, the chief of the three, and afterwards the only remaining legate at the Council, here was a plain declaration of heaven that he alone ſhould be the ſupreme head of the univerſal church, of which that Council was a type [1].

Since therefore *Pole* affected to bear this loſs with ſo much inſenſibility, we will not expreſs any concern for him upon that account. Though we cannot but obſerve that, this *ſenate of the univerſal church* (p. 147), which the late Pope, we have been informed, had taken care *ſhould be compoſed* of none but *perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, whoſe examples*

2 *Atqui ſi illud non contigit, ut is (ſc. Chriſtus) a me rectus in civitatem ſanctam publice ingrederetur, hoc quidem non oſtendit, me non ejus jumenti perſonam geſſiſſe, ſed ipſum Dominum hoc jumento opus non habuiſſe, id enim exitus rei declaravit.* Id. p. 59.

1 *Etenim cum ipſe mecum conſidero, quemadmodum is primum per omnes honorum gradus, tum urbanorum, tum provincialium, aſcenderit; tum legatus conſilio, additis duobus collegis, ita ſit præfectus, ut deinde cum altero, poſtremo ſolus remanſerit, ex hoc quidem nihil aliud mihi intelligere videor, præter tacitam quandam divinæ voluntatis ſignificationem ut, (quod factum cernimus) is ſolus univerſæ eccleſiæ, cujus imaginem concilium refert, præficeretur.* Id. p. 64.

might recall the ancient ſplendour of the prieſthood (p. 141) would have done themſelves leſs diſhonour had they elected that ſenſeleſs ſtock, than in making choice of a man of ſo flagitious and infamouſly immoral character as cardinal *Monti*, for *the chief Paſtor of the Chriſtian world* (p. 459). While the conclave was ſitting, a letter from a ſervant of one of the cardinals to a male favorite, full of the moſt ſhameful expreſſions, was intercepted, and made public: this gave many ſerious perſons occaſion to ſay, that he muſt neceſſarily be an obſcene Pope who was to proceed from a conclave from whence ſuch obſcene letters could be written. The event fully juſtified their ſuſpicions: and the church of *Rome* had ſoon an evident proof, how little regard to virtue her cardinals diſcovered in the choice of her new Pontiff, when he conferred his own hat upon the keeper of his monkey, a youth for whom he was ſuppoſed to retain an affection of the moſt infamous nature [1].

After this, as Mr. *P.* learned from *Quirini* [2], *Pole* retired to his government *of the province of the patrimony* (p. 460); but it ſeems, as if he could not ſo eaſily get over his chagrin and vexation at what had lately happened, as our author would perſuade us;

1 *Sleidan*, b. 21, p. 492, 493. *Thuan. lib.* 6. *A. D.* 1550. See alſo *Pallav. lib.* 11, *c.* 7, *n.* 4.

2 *Quirini*, *v.* 4, *App. p.* XLVI, XLVII.

for

for inſtead of going to *Viterbo, the uſual ſeat of the governor* (p. 297), he choſe to make *Bagnarea* the place of his reſidence. And at laſt, not being able to get the better of his ſpleen, he took ſhelter in a *monaſtery* (p. 460): and we hear little or nothing of him: till his melancholy was diverted by a new ſcene of affairs opening in *England*; the acceſſion of his favourite *Mary* to the throne of that kingdom.

ANIMADVERSIONS
ON
SECTION THE EIGHTH.

WE are now come to halcyon days, to the triumph of faith, zeal and piety, when the catholic *Mary* bleſſed theſe kingdoms with her tender and religious government; an event which calls forth all the powers of Mr. *P's* eloquence to celebrate the bleſſings of it. No ſooner was her acceſſion ſignified at *Rome*, than our cardinal was immediately thought of, as the propereſt perſon to make the moſt advantages of the preſent hopeful ſtate of affairs in *England*. He was therefore *again called forth to action* (2d pt. p. 1.) and drawn from his melancholy *retirement at Maguza* to enter upon another ſpiritual negotiation, which promiſed a more ſucceſsful iſſue than any he had formerly been engaged in. But, though the Pope had prepared every thing for him, a worldly prudence occurred, and the cardinal would not ſtir, till he was *informed of the queen's diſpoſition, and the ſtate of the nation.* (p. 4.) This occa-

occaſioned the correſpondence between the queen and the cardinal, which Mr. *P.* has inſerted in the courſe of this ſection.

By this it appears, that great care and circumſpection was thought neceſſary at firſt, to keep this epiſtolary intercourſe ſo ſecret, that if poſſible, it might not even be ſuſpected, for the temper of the nation was ſuch, it would not yet bear any overtures of a reconciliation with the See of *Rome*. A correſpondence of this nature required great art and addreſs in carrying it on. *Cardinal Dandino*[1] *the papal*

[illegible]

1 *Dandino:* ſo is this cardinal called uniformly, by the Queen herſelf, by *Quirini*, by *Beccatelli*, *Dudithius* and the other hiſtorians of thoſe times; and not, as he is conſtantly, by Mr. *P. Dandalo*. Our author, indeed, is above attending to ſuch *minutiæ*. Some of his miſnomers in the former part of his work, have occaſionally been pointed out. In his ſecond part, he ſeems ſtill more inattentive to ſuch trivial matters. P. 12, Mr. *P.* calls the lady *Jane Grey*, lady *Jane Brandon*. And p. 37. he repreſents her as *tranſcribing a ſentence out of her book of devotions*, &c. No ſuch thing was done. She gave the conſtable of the tower that book, having juſt before her execution written ſome ſentences in it. v. *Heylin*, p. 167. and *Biog. Brit.* Article *Grey*, note R. P. 12. Mr. *P.* calls Sir *James Hales*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, Lord Chief Juſtice, and one of the privy council. P. 17. *Courtenay*, is ſaid to be ſon to the marquis of *Wincheſter*, inſtead of *Exeter*. He was ſoon after created earl of *Devonſhire*. P. 18. and other places *Goldwell*, for ſo *Rymer*, and all the *Engliſh* writers call him, (except Mr. *Dod*) Mr. *P.* mentions by the name of *Godwell*. Indeed, I find his name ſo written amongſt the ſubſcribers to the council of *Trent*. P. 82. The Earl of *Arundel*, who was Lord Steward, is ſtyled High Chamberlain. P. 78. Sir *Anthony Brown*, lately created Lord *Montague*, Mr. *P.* calls, *Pole's* nephew, taking him for a ſon of his elder brother.

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ambaſſador at the Emperor's court, (p. 6.) undertook, we are told, the management of it: and diſpatched his ſecretary into *England* with *Pole's* letters to the Queen, who gave him ample aſſurances of her attachment to the catholic cauſe; but it was under ſuch ſtrong injunctions of ſecrecy, that being informed by her ambaſſador at *Venice*, that the ſecretary had communicated her intentions, too publicly, to the conſiſtory at *Rome*. She complained thereof to *Pole* aſſuring him, that if ſuch reports ſhould come to the knowledge of the parliament, the late ſtatutes concerning religion, and the new aſſumed ſupremacy would not be ſo readily repealed [1]. A complaint of this nature, and at ſo critical a juncture, was deemed worthy of his Holineſs's own interpoſition, who wrote to the Queen himſelf to aſſure her of the falſeneſs of that intelligence, that all that the meſſenger had informed the conſiſtory of was, what he had ſeen and heard, namely, the execution, repentance, and prayers of the condemned rebels; and thoſe public actions of hers which teſtified her catholic and pious diſpoſition; what more ſhe had heard, was, he told her, only raiſed to prejudice her againſt the apoſtolic See [2].

Noailles, the French ambaſſador at the court

1 *Quirini*, v. 4. *Ep. Mariæ Reg. Ang. Polo*, p. 119, 120. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 352.

2 *Quirini*, v. 4. *Julius P. P.* III. *Mariæ Reg. Angliæ*, p. 432.

of

of England, (p. 9) eaſily perceived the driſt of this communication between *Rome* and *England*; he gave his court early intimation of the Legate's commiſſion, and of the neceſſity that it ſhould be upon a good footing with him, who, ſays he, "*if once he comes hither, will have the firſt place in the Queen's confidence, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Chancellor, and of ſeveral of the nobility, who, on account of their religious principles, will ſee with regret*, not, (as Mr. *P.* tranſlates the next words,) *a churchman*, but, ſuch a ſervant of the Pope, *at the head of the miniſtry:* (p. 10) for the Queen, (he adds) has already raiſed up ſo many enemies againſt her, upon the account of religion, that there needs but little freſh matter to put all things into confuſion [1]."

No ſooner was *Mary* ſeated on the throne, than ſhe began to ſhew the temper of her reign. There could indeed be little hopes of any attention to law or decency, when the Sovereign avowedly put herſelf at the head of a party, and brought to the crown all the irritated paſſions of a diſguſted ſubject. Her naturally gloomy temper had long been ſoured by thoſe hardſhips which her father's violence compelled her to ſubmit to; this gave

1 --- *De quoi j'eſtime que le Chancellier n'aura trop de plaiſir, & beaucoup moingz grand nombre de Millords, & du peuple qui voudront mal voluntiers porter obeiſſance a ung tel miniſtre du Pape, &c. Ambaſſades de Noailles, v. 2, p. 136.*

her

her an unconquerable averſion to every ſubſequent meaſure: ſhe looked upon her cauſe and popery to be one and the ſame; and herſelf in ſome meaſure a confeſſor for the Pope's ſupremacy. Although ſhe had paid, in her father's life-time a temporary feigned obedience to his laws; yet, by pleading her brother's minority, for oppoſing his religious regulations, ſhe became involved in a diſpute with his miniſtry concerning the indulgence ſhe claimed of the full exerciſe of her religion, at a time when the laws made it penal. This increaſed her averſion to the reformation, which upon her acceſſion to the regal power, broke out in the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of rancour, and ſuperſtition.

Her *memorable reply* (p. 10) to the Emperor's prudent advice, that *She was reſolved to uſe no delay in teſtifying her gratitude to Him, to whom She owed her ſafety and dignity* &c. (p.11) would have been more to her credit, had her words and actions always correſponded; but, perhaps, her zeal ſuggeſted to her, that her gratitude to God was beſt expreſſed, by forfeiting her veracity to man. When the people of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who were for the moſt part favourers of the reformation, took up arms in her behalf, She promiſed them, not to alter the laws then in being: but no ſooner was She ſeated on the throne, than She ſhewed her grateful ſenſe of their aſſiſtance, in pilloring the preſumptuous perſon who remind-

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ed her of her word.[1] And in impriſoning the preachers and others of their religion, not for civil, ſo much as religious offences. For, "ſaith *Strype*, not only all that were in Queen "*Jane*'s buſineſs, but alſo that were ſuſpected "of any inclination to the goſpel, or that "had ſhewn any diſlike of the preſent affairs, "being fetched in, and committed to priſon "upon ſome pretence or other.[2]" Though as the ſame author elſewhere obſerves, "it "was notorious . . that they were proteſtants "chiefly that placed her in her kingdom; and "the conſideration of her religion did but lit-"tle advance her deſigns. For at this time "the intereſt of the papiſts was but little; "and the people generally was earneſtly diſ-"poſed to, and highly pleaſed with King *Ed-*"*ward's* reformation[3]." And his laws were ſtill in force.

The execution of the profligate duke of *Northumberland*, and thoſe who ſuffered with him, was an act of neceſſary juſtice. The duke could expect no favour. The whole ſcheme of the late King's ſettlement was the product of his ambition, he had ruined his whole family, he had made the lord *Guildford Dudley*, (the moſt hopeful of all his children) and his matchleſs Lady the victims of his hypocriſy, pride and luſt of power. He was not, there-

1 *Strype's* memorials, v. 3, p. 52. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 246. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 293.
2 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3. p. 50.
3 *Id. ib.* p. 11.

fore,

fore, an object of mercy, and he died unpitied, and detested. *A general pardon*, saith Mr. *P. with few exceptions, followed these acts of justice.* (p. 17). An Act of Grace was indeed passed, as soon as the parliament met, but it was so limited and restrained, and so far from being *general*, that it had nothing more than the name and shew of mercy: it was clogged with such severe provisos, that those whom it most of all concerned could reap no benefit from it at all [1]. For the goals were full of prisoners, who were particularly excepted out of it.

The Queen found her subjects not quite so ready to embrace the ancient religious customs as she herself was: her new preachers were not heard with the respect she intended they should, nor sometimes indeed without unjustifiable tumults. There was one, in particular, at St. *Paul's* cathedral which rose to a great heigth, for the preacher, in praising that holy confessor bishop *Bonner* to his face, and inveighing against the proceedings in the late reign, so irritated his audience, that his zeal had well nigh endangered his life [2]. This occasioned a proclamation from the Queen, signifying, that however she might be determined herself, yet she would compel none to her religion; but then came in this *salvo*, un-

1 *Heylin*, p. 21. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 253. Parliamentary history, v. 3, p. 292.

2 *Heylin*, p. 22. *Strype's* Mem. v. 3, p. 21. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 245. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 345.

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til ſuch time as further order by common conſent, might be taken therein — that is, in effect, ſays Mr. *Strype*, to tell her ſubjects, as ſoon as ſhe could compel them by act of parliament, ſhe would [1]. In the ſame proclamation all preaching and printing, without licence, was forbidden: and within three days after, another came out commanding that no man ſhould REASON againſt her proceedings; by which it appears plainly there were great diſcontents amongſt the people; and that tho' the Queen's right was chearfully acknowledged, and for conſcience ſake ſubmitted to; yet it was not to the *univerſal ſatisfaction of all orders of the nation* (p. 17). The eagerneſs of her officious clergy and the violence with which they every where introduced the ancient ſuperſtition, occaſioned frequent and continual diſturbances; but they ſheltered themſelves, ſays *Heylin*, under the name of ſetting forward the Queen's proceedings [2]; in which, indeed, they were countenanced by her own actions, for ſhe ſignalized her coronation and the meeting of the parliament, which was immediately after it, with a notorious and public breach of the laws then in being.

The parliament, however, ſoon gave their ſanction to every innovation, and after the plauſible act for moderating treaſonable and

1 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3. p. 25, 26. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 245. *Heylin*, p. 22.

2 *Heylin's* hiſtory of Queen *Mary*, p. 24.

feloni-

felonious offences, the legitimacy of the Queen, was fully eſtabliſhed, or as Mr. *P.* words it, *The houſes declare the validity of the marriage between King Henry, and Catharine of Arragon . . . and expreſs their higheſt diſapprobation of Cranmer's behaviour in that proceeding, of which, indeed, they give many ſhameful inſtances* (p. 18). The parliament, by this and other acts, ſhewed their obſequiouſneſs to the court, and how eaſily men of no principles could run from one religion to the other. But *Gardiner*, who as prime miniſter, had the direction of every thing, muſt as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, "be paſt all ſhame: when he could "frame ſuch an act, of a buſineſs, which himſelf "had ſo violently and ſervilely promoted . . . . "The laying the divorce upon *Cranmer*, was "as high a pitch of malice and impudence as "could be deviſed[1]." For in the management of it *Gardiner* himſelf had been much employed, and was one of *Henry's* moſt active inſtruments at home and abroad, had written in defenſe of his, and againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and was the man who introduced *Cranmer* to the King's acquaintance, and with other popiſh biſhops, ſat in commiſſion with him, when he, as primate, pronounced the ſentence of divorce againſt Queen *Catharine* and declared her marriage with King *Henry* null and void.

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 254.

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The parliament however was not complaiſant enough to go all the lengths which were wanted; it had indeed, but not without a debate, which laſted ſix days, [1] repealed all the acts in favour of the reformation, but would neither allow of the Pope's ſupremacy, nor approve of the intended match with *Spain*; it was therefore diſſolved in hopes that a more pliable one might be procured. But what was enacted, was too material not to be communicated to the *Legate*. The Queen diſpatched *Goldwell* (afterwards biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) to inform him of theſe important particulars, as forerunners of greater changes. *Pole* ſent back the meſſenger with a long ſuit of inſtructions. Theſe Mr. *P.* (p. 22—27) hath jumbled together with a few paſſages he met with in one of *Pole's* letters to the Queen preſerved by *Quirini* [2], but in which, though Mr. *P.* aſſerts it, there is no mention made either of that meſſenger or his inſtructions [3]. Thus far then all went ſmooth enough for the *Legate*, who was haſtening to *England* when he was forbidden by the Emperor to proceed, leſt he ſhould retard his ſon's match with the Queen; even ſhe herſelf ſeems not

1 Parliamentary hiſtory, v. 3. p. 295.

2 *Quirini*, v. 4, p. 123.

3 Theſe inſtructions occur at large in *Strype's* life of *Cranmer*, Appendix, p. 170. and briefly in *Collier*, v. 2, p. 352, 353, and in *Burnet*, v. 2. Hiſtory, p. 260. Records, p. 250, all referring, as well as Mr. *P*, to *Cotton Titus*, B. 2.

to have been without the ſame apprehenſions, by ordering *Maſon*, her ambaſſadour at the Emperor's court, to prevent his coming nearer, as he was the only perſon, who was likely to prevail on her to alter her mind [1]. The parliament had been diſſolved, that no further impediment might ariſe from that quarter, the houſe of commons having preſumed to remonſtrate againſt the intended marriage, not *upon Gardiner's propoſing it in council*, as Mr. *P.* ſays, (p. 32) (which was not till ſome weeks after their diſſolution) but upon the rumour being ſpread, that the Queen was going to marry *Philip*. [2]

The Queen, who ſeemed very little ſolicitous to ſecure the good will of her ſubjects, was determined to perſevere in her intentions; and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors being arrived, ſhe ordered *Gardiner* to inform the court, and the next day the city of *London* therewith. Within ſix days after, ſaith *John Stowe*, word was brought that divers rebels were up in *Devonſhire*, and ſoon after others in *Kent*; "the purpoſe of the Queen's marriage, ſaith "he, was ſo grievouſly taken of divers Men, "that for this and for religion they in ſuch "ſort conſpired againſt the Queen, that if the

1 *Ambaſſades de Noailes*, v. 2. p. 244.

2 Parliamentary hiſtory, v. 3. p. 300. *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 261. *Strype* Mem. v. 3, p. 55. the Parliament was diſſolved the 6th of *December*; and *Gardiner* acquainted the court the 14th of *January* following with the articles of the approaching Nuptials.

"matter

" matter had not broken out before the time " by them appointed, men thought it would " have brought much trouble and danger [1]." The *Devonſhire* commotion was ſoon ſuppreſſed; but the *Kentiſh* inſurrection under Sir *Thomas Wyat* bore at firſt a formidable aſpect. As he did not pretend to take up arms upon religious motives, but urged only the popular plea of a diſlike to the *Spaniſh* match, many papiſts joined him. At the Queen's acceſſion, he had given her ſignal proofs of his loyalty; he now attempted nothing againſt her perſon. When he entered *London*, he paſſed by her palace without committing any inſults: and the inſtant he found himſelf deceived in his expectation of encouragement from the city, he ſurrendered himſelf, and almoſt without any reſiſtance, to an officer of the Queen. He ſeems to have had no real hoſtile intention, but only, as *Burnet* ſays, he wanted to engage the city of *London*, to come and join with him in a petition to the Queen againſt the match [2]. This *rebellion* (for the ſofter word of inſurrection muſt not now be uſed,) failing *of ſucceſs, only ſtrengthened that government it was deſigned to overthrow* (p. 34). The miniſtry found that they might now carry on their projects; and tho' the Queen during her late panic, in her ſpeech *to the citizens of London*, promiſed that ſhe would never marry but to the content of all

1 Annals, p. 618. 2 *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 224.

her ſubjects, yet no ſooner was her fright over, than ſhe declared publicly, that ſhe would never marry any body but the Prince of *Spain*, let the conſequence be what it would [1].

At this diſtance of time Sir *Thomas Wyat's* riſing ſeems to have been a wild and romantic undertaking, without plan or deſign. It ſerved however to promote the ends of the court; as it furniſhed a plauſible pretence for the ſeizing, not only thoſe who were actually in arms, but numbers who were ſuſpected of diſapproving the preſent meaſures; and ſufficiently manifeſted the unmerciful and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the government. The axe and the gallows freed the Queen of her enemies and afforded conſtant employment for the executioner [2]. Now ſuffered (to prevent future dangers that might ariſe from their claim)

1 *Ambaſſades de Noailles*, v. 2, p. 62.

2 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3, p. 91---95. *Stowe*, p. 622---624. Monſr. *Noailles* ſays, there was nothing to be ſeen in the city but gibbets and heads upon the gates of it. *Ambaſſades*, v. 3, p. 83. and in other letters he mentions theſe cruel ſeveretics. p. 88, and 148. He likewiſe ſays, the Emperor by his Ambaſſador adviſed the Queen to ſuffer none of the rebels to live. p. 120. And in another letter, he ſays, that there were already above 400 hanged, many of them brave ſoldiers, beſides about 50 officers and gentlemen --- different behaviour, adds he, from that of his maſter, the King of *France*, who in the tumult at *Bourdeaux*, ſcorned to puniſh the multitude, as they did in *England*. p. 124. See alſo *Carte*, v. 3, p. 308.

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the young lord *Guildford Dudley*, and, though *no part of the late conſpiracy was imputed to her* (p. 36), his wife, that excellently accompliſhed lady, the lady *Jane Gray*, whoſe merit, innocence, and virtue were ſo conſpicuous and engaging, that even Mr. *P*, with all his bitterneſs againſt her religion, is forced to acknowledge her extraordinary and conſummate worth. The Queen, not ſatisfied with theſe executions, ſeemed as if ſhe was determined to deſtroy all who had any claim to the crown. *Wyat* was tampered with to accuſe the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and every baſe art employed to prove her privy to his riſing. *Wyat*, however, at his execution publicly declared her innocence. The miniſtry could not therefore for ſhame proſecute her for a crime of which ſhe had been ſo ſolemnly cleared. Notwithſtanding this, and tho' ſhe earneſtly applied to the Queen for a perſonal conference [1], ſhe was refuſed it, and committed to the tower; where ſhe was forced to ſubmit to thoſe continued hardſhips and indignities which ſhe ſuffered from the unreſtrained malice and tyranny of her ſiſter [2].

Whilſt the cruel and ſlaughtering work above-mentioned was going forwards, a new parliament was ſummoned, which, being ſuffi-

1 See her letter to the Queen copied from the original in the *Britiſh Muſæum*, and communicated by the reverend Dr. *Birch*.

2 *Carte*, v. 3, p. 306. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 273.

ciently

ciently bribed by the Emperour and his agents[1], was more diſpoſed to humour the Queen than the laſt; it agreed to the match, but ſtill would not conſent to the reſtoration of the papal ſupremacy. To prepare matters for the changes which were reſolved on, we are told that *the Queen iſſued out a commiſſion, by which all the married clergy were deprived of their benefices, as being diſqualified to poſſeſs them* (p. 38). For this *extraordinary* aſſertion our learned hiſtorian, thinks himſelf obliged to make an apology; *as this inability*, he pretendeth, *was founded on the conſtant practice of the weſtern church, ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity*, &c. (p. 38, 39). And beſides this, as he addeth in another place, *the example of the Apoſtles, and councils and canons, had made that ſtate unlawful* (p. 58). Theſe aſſertions may paſs for orthodox at *Rome* or *Tongres*, but here they only ſubject the author to the ſevere cenſure of paying no greater regard to modeſty than to truth. Vows of celebacy were not enjoined by Chriſt, his apoſtles, or by any canon in the three firſt centuries, nor univerſally practiſed even in the weſtern church for ſome ages afterwards. In the early days of Chriſtianity, marriage was not deemed any impediment to ſerving at the altar. Moſt of the apoſtles are ſuppoſed to have been married, and many accounts of married clergy are to be met with

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 262, *Ambaſſades de Noailles*, v. 2. p. 273. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 309.

in

in the hiſtory of the following ages [1]. The bold aſſerters of this untruth, the neceſſary celibacy of the clergy, ſhould conſider, that it is an argument leſs than nothing with us, to urge only the canons or inventions of men in behalf of this doctrine; they ſhould ſhew the matrimonial eſtate of the clergy to be ſinful in itſelf, and expreſſly againſt the laws of God, or they are only beating the air, and attempting to prove an article by arguments which will not be admitted.

Our author hath acquainted his readers with the names of thoſe proteſtant biſhops, who, ſays he, *in conſequence of theſe orders were deprived.* (p. 39). We cannot but obſerve, the ſtorm fell equally ſevere upon them, whether they *had broke the ſolemn vows made on entering on a religious ſtate*; or whether they had made no vows at all: for *ſeculars* as well as *regulars* felt the rigour of them. Mr. *P.* hath added a note to characterize *the chief of theſe depoſed biſhops.* To wound their reputation and their cauſe the more, he ſaith, that his *account* of them is *as it is given by proteſtant hiſtorians.* Let us ſee then, what theſe hiſtorians ſay; and how far theſe unfortunate prelates deſerved the cruel treatment they met with from their perſecutors. Very little is recorded in hiſtory of archbiſhop *Holgate.* *Godwin* ſpeaks favourably of

1 See *Wharton* on the celibacy of the clergy, and *Bingham's* Antiquities, B. 4, c. 5, ſect. 5, *&c.*

him;

him; but, we are here told, *he not only made uſe of the indulgent doctrine, which . . . allowed the clergy to marry, but extended the licenſe to take another man's Wife.* *Harmar* [1], and from him *Collier* [2], have perpetuated this ſcandalous ſtory; they have related the charge againſt the archbiſhop, but the particular circumſtances are ſtill wanting. They only ſay from the council book of *Edward* VI, that ſuch an accuſation was brought againſt him, and that in 1551. perſons were appointed to examine into the truth of this matter. But we no where find that this charge was ever proved, or that the archbiſhop was found guilty, or even cenſured for his marriage; and ſince he enjoyed his archbiſhopric till *Edward's* death, we may charitably hope it was a groundleſs accuſation. It was not ſpecified in the warrant of his commitment to the Tower, nor in the commiſſion granted to deprive him and the other biſhops whom Mr. *P.* mentions, in which marrying only, contrary to the vows of chaſtity, is alleged againſt him: had the other fact been true, it would hardly have been omitted.

Biſhop *Farrar* was ſingularly unfortunate, ſuffering both in this and the former reign. Fifty ſix articles were exhibited againſt him, many of them trifling, and ſome of them for not being zealous enough in the reformation.

1 Specimen of errors, *&c.* p. 125.
2 *Collier*, v. 2, p. 349.

To

To all theſe he gave in a full anſwer, nor was he condemned or found guilty of any of them. Upon the ſtatute of premunire, and for a debt to the crown, he was thrown into priſon, where he was kept till *Edward's* death. [1] At *Mary's* acceſſion, he was convened before biſhop *Gardiner* and others, and examined, not upon the cauſes for which he was thrown into priſon, but about his faith and doctrine, not for crimes committed by him, but for hereſy [2]. *Bird* and *Buſh* complied with the times, and lived quietly; the former recovered his credit, was made vicar of *Dunmow* in *Eſſex*, and in ſuch favor with biſhop *Bonner*, that he made him his ſuffragan [2].

The proteſtant biſhops being deprived, our hiſtorian acquaints us, *with what diſcernment the choice of thoſe who were nominated to the vacant Sees were made* (p. 40), and beſtoweth his commendations upon them for their *firmneſs* to their religion at the acceſſion of Queen *Elizabeth*, and refuſing to acknowledge *that Princeſs's ſupremacy*, forgetting ſurely, that moſt of theſe very biſhops had complied with the times, and ſcrupled not to take the oath of ſupremacy in the reigns of *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. Some of the elder biſhops had written in defenſe of the regal ſupremacy, had been active in promoting it, and had even

1 *Fox's* Acts and Monuments, v. 3, p. 201, &c. *Strype's* Mem, v. 3, p. 254. Life of *Cranmer*, p. 184.

2 *Fox*, v. 3, p. 259. *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 61, 62.

taken

taken out commiſſions to hold their biſhoprics from the crown. And, as all the clergy were obliged to take that oath, it is probable, that moſt of thoſe biſhops, who were promoted by *Mary*, had taken it before, though they refuſed it to her ſucceſſor; who, to ſhew her gentleneſs and moderation, purpoſedly omitted the moſt exceptionable part of it, the acknowledging the Prince upon the throne the ſupreme head of the church. And yet theſe conſcientious prelates refuſed to give her this ſmall proof of their duty, which they had repeatedly given to former Princes: ſuch was their conſiſtency, ſuch *their firmneſs!* But which of them was baniſhed, or burnt for this refuſal? what cruel *hardſhips* did they ſuffer? We are told, that *neither loſs of wealth and dignity, nor the hardſhips of priſon and baniſhment, ſhook their firmneſs:* what were theſe ſufferings of theirs, when compared with the treatment which the proteſtant biſhops received from them? They were not ſatisfied, when in power, with inflicting puniſhments which did not affect life. The ſtake was the concluſion of their triumph. *The hardſhips of priſon* "ſaith this zealot. Biſhops "palaces, and their tables, were dreadful "dungeons to be ſure, and as bad as thoſe, "into which the righteous *Bonner*, and other "ſaints of the ſame claſs, uſed to thruſt the "poor heretics! will men never be aſhamed "of theſe godly tricks and diſingenuous pre-"varication[1]."

1 *Jortin's* life of *Eraſmus*, v. 1, p. 108.

Whilſt

Whilſt every thing was going proſperouſly forward in *England* to contribute to the reconciliation with the church of *Rome*, the *Legate* was ſtill delayed abroad; the Emperor would not permit him to proceed, *till his ſon's marriage with the Queen was over* (p. 41); *he made uſe, therefore*, we are told, *of the leiſure he now had to diſcharge the ſecond part of his commiſſion* (p. 42); which was to mediate a treaty of peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*; this negotiation was as unſucceſsful as any he had formerly undertaken. The two Princes ſpoke him fair, but liſtened not to his *overtures*. This we paſs by as immaterial to the affairs of *England*.

The cardinal's legantine powers come next under conſideration, and deſerve ſome attention. All the *documents* relating to this commiſſion, (except the firſt bull which is inſerted in *Harmer* [1]) are given at length by *Burnet* [2]. They fully ſet forth the Pope's artificial dealing in this affair. The Emperor was bent upon the match between his ſon and the Queen of *England*, to which he knew the affair of the church lands would be the greateſt obſtacle, and was therefore earneſt to have it ſettled. The Pope was not fond of giving up this point; and ſent *Pole* ſuch powers as might ſeem to ſatisfy the perſons concerned, and yet be evaded. The firſt bull ran

1 Specimen of errors, p. 179.
2 Hiſt. Ref. v. 3. Records, p. 559, &c.

only

only in general terms [1]. The ſecond [2] gave him power to agree with the poſſeſſors of eccleſiaſtical goods, for the profits wrongfully received, and moveable goods conſumed, and to give them diſcharges for the ſame. Mr. *P.* ſays, it was left to the *Legate's determination whether reſtitution of the immoveable goods was to be made or not; and that he was authorized to make the owners eaſy as to all ſuch matters* (p. 59). But the words of the bull itſelf import, that the poſſeſſors had wrongfully received the profits of thoſe eſtates, and wrongfully detained them [3]. What ſeems to be left to *Pole*, is, whether he ſhould not firſt inſiſt upon their reſtoring theſe eſtates, before he compounded with them for the profits already received. The words are ambiguous and capable of different ſenſes, and the Pope might interpret them as he pleaſed. This was the Emperor's opinion, for he objected to them and inſiſted upon fuller powers being granted to the *Legate*, which were at laſt obtained [4]. By theſe, ſays Mr. *P*, *the Legate was inveſted with the moſt ample power to agree and compound with the preſent owners; and to aſſure to them their poſſeſſions, on whatever title they held them*; &c. (p. 65). This

1 Dated, *Auguſt* 5, 1554.

2 Dated, *March* 8, 1554.

3 *Reſtitutis prius, ſi tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis*

4 By another Breve dated 28 *June*, 1554. *Burnet*, v. 3. Records, p. 566.

is

is no accurate tranſlation of the original; this bull alſo affirms, that theſe goods were wrongfully detained, neither is there any general power given to confirm to the preſent poſſeſſors *all* the church lands, *but*, what Mr. *P.* has omitted, only to ſuch as the Queen ſhould intercede for, and with thoſe only the *Legate* was impowered to agree and compound, which ſeems to imply ſome ſatisfaction and compoſition firſt to be made. The worſt of all was the *ſalvo* which followed, ſignifying that in matters of greater moment, the Pope's conſent and confirmation was neceſſary [2]. Thus he left room for himſelf to revoke and reſcind, what was done without his expreſs conſent.

When this ſeeming ſecurity of the church lands was ſettled to the Emperor's ſatisfaction, his ſon married to the Queen, and other difficulties removed, the *Legate* was allowed to proceed for *England*. To facilitate his reception, a new parliament was ſummoned, and writs were ſent from the Queen to the ſheriffs of the counties *to will and command them to chuſe members of the catholic ſort* [3]. The firſt bill that the two houſes went

1 --- *pro quibus ipſa ſereniſſima Regina Maria interceſſerit, de bonis per eos indebite detentis.*

2 *Salvo tamen in his, in quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc ſancta ſedes merito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præfatæ ſedis beneplacito confirmatione.*

3 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3, p. 155. Life of *Cranmer*, p. 344. *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 228. Parliamentary hiſt. v. 3, p. 311.

upon,

upon, was to repeal the *Legate's* attainder. As he was upon the road the greateſt expedition was neceſſary, elſe his arrival might be attended with danger; ſome forms were therefore diſpenſed with, and it paſſed with the utmoſt haſte. The *Legate being arrived at Calais, an incident* (it ſeems) *happened which was . . . interpreted as a declaration of heaven in his favour* (p. 77). The reader will be aſtoniſhed to hear, that this remarkable declaration of heaven was — the wind changed, and blew fair for *England*. Heaven would have declared itſelf much more ſtrongly in his favour, if the life of this cardinal and his Queen had been prolonged, that they might have compleated the good work they were now beginning.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE NINTH.

BECCATELLI and *Dudithius* having given only a ſhort and curſory account of the *Legate's* reception in *England* and his firſt tranſactions after his arrival, Mr. *P.* ſeems now at a loſs which way to turn himſelf: his ſubject required him to be particular on theſe topics, but his guides had deſerted him; and what ſhould he do! In this exigency he has recourſe to a poor anonymous *Italian* letter which *Quirini* very kindly pointed out to him.[1] To this letter he doth indeed refer, but in ſuch a manner as might induce us to conclude, that he uſes it as his voucher for one ſingle circumſtance, rather than for a long detail of facts, filling up no leſs than nine pages[2]: No unuſual artifice

1 *Deſcriptio reductionis Angliæ ad Catholicam unitatem*, 1554. *in Quirini*, *v.* 5, *p.* 303, *&c.*

2 P. 75 ---- 84.

this

this with Mr. *P!* For the reader's entertainment, and that he may ſee what ſort of authorities Mr. *P.* in his neceſſity is content to rely on, I ſhall give a ſpecimen of this letter—writer's abilities. He tells us, that on the *Legate's* arrival at *Canterbury* the archdeacon received him with an elegant and pious oration, "Thou art *Pole*, ſaid he, who openeſt to us "the pole of the kingdom of heaven:"[2]. Moſt elegant truly! He gives another anecdote, which it is a little ſurprizing Mr. *P.* had not obliged us with, as it is ſo much in his own ſpirit and taſte. When the bill for the reunion had been agitated in the two houſes of parliament, neither of them knew any thing of the reſolutions of the other. It paſſed the lords, and they ſent to inform the commons of it: at that very juncture it paſſed the lower houſe alſo, and a meſſenger was diſpatched to the lords to give them notice of it. The two meſſengers, prodigious! met in the way. A moſt evident ſign this, ſays our letter-writer, that the ſpirit of God operated in both places, at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner. With the like contemptible impertinences doth the whole letter abound. But Mr. *P.* thinks that it furniſhes him with materials good enough for his hiſtory: and ſo indeed it doth.

2 *Tu es Polus qui aperis nobis polum regni cœlorum: Aer, flumina, terra, parietes ipſi, omnia denique te deſiderant. Quamdiu abfuiſti, omnia fuerunt triſtia, & adverſa: in addentu tuo omnia rident, omnia lætá, omnia tranquilla.* p. 307.

The

The *Legate*, having performed the important buſineſs of reconciling the kingdom to the church of *Rome*, communicated the news to the Pope, who teſtified his joy upon this occaſion in a very ſignal manner, by publiſhing indulgences, ordering proceſſions, and proclaiming a jubilee, and the like. As *Pole had appointed St. Andrew's day, on which this great work was completed, to be kept henceforward with peculiar ſolemnity* (p. 84); His holineſs and the good people of *Rome* expreſſed their grateful homage to the Saint in this pious and rational manner. "The head of St. "*Andrew* was kept uncovered the whole day, "that all the people might ſee it, viſit it, and "worſhip it as became them [1]."

In pity to the preſent deplorable ſituation of his countrymen, who have renounced the biſhop of *Rome's* ſupremacy, our author, not ſatisfied with what he had ſaid before upon this ſubject, takes now an humbler taſk, fights us with our own weapons, and produces what he is pleaſed to call *conceſſions on this article of the catholic faith* (p. 87, note) from *witneſſes, who, in this caſe, are above all* exception (p. 84). Had he thought proper to have examined theſe witneſſes, and inſpected the places he ſo confidently refers to, he would never have preſumed to urge the teſtimony of any one of them. Had he himſelf ever looked into any of their books, he would

1 *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 323.

have found, that amongſt other objections to popery, they ALL of them conſidered this very article, the Pope's ſupremacy, as one of the fundamental and moſt obnoxious errors of the *Romiſh* church. And yet they are here moſt injuriouſly repreſented as making *conceſſions* to it; — But it is by one who knows them not.

After this digreſſion we are informed, that *the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the Legate, and deſired him to honour the city with his preſence in that character* (p. 87). To pay the greater reſpect to him, the whole court attended him to St. *Paul's* upon Advent Sunday, where he went in *great ſtate*, and the chancellor himſelf preached. But however acceptable the late proceedings in parliament were to the court and courtiers, the *Legate* had the mortification to find that the citizens of *London* abhorred thoſe acts, and that he was not received with that pleaſure and reſpect he wiſhed. "The Legate" (as Mr. *Strype* tells us from a ſpectator of this pompous proceſſion) "rode . . . bleſſing the "people as he went; for which he was great-"ly laughed to ſcorn. For few of the people "had now any good conceit of the Pope, or "his creature's bleſſings. Nor did they put "off their caps, and make courteſy to the "croſs, neither was there ſcarce any expreſ-"ſion of joy at the ſight of the King and "Queen: none ſaying, *God ſave them.* The "biſhop of *Wincheſter* was ſore offended at "this';"

"this[1];" and threatened the people hard for their diſreſpectful behaviour. It appears alſo from the ſame hiſtorian, that the kingdom in general took ſuch little ſatisfaction in this reconciliation with the Pope, that the Queen found herſelf obliged to write circular letters to the ſheriffs to order rejoicings upon this occaſion: the people not being forward of themſelves to make any outward ſignification of their joy[2].

Whilſt the people was amuſed with theſe ſhews, the feint of the Queen's pregnancy was kept up. Sometime after, an act of parliament paſſed appointing King *Philip* guardian and governour of the kingdom during the minority of the child, if the Queen ſhould die[3]. To flatter her and themſelves, the council ordered *Te Deum* to be ſaid, and thankſgivings were made throughout the dioceſs of *London* for the Queen's pregnancy, and alſo prayers for her ſafe deliverance, and for the perfections of the child, that it might be well favoured, witty, and a male[4]. This farce did not convince the nation. Mr. *Noailles* has taken notice of a very ſevere libel, which was ſtuck up at the Queen's palace, ſignifying the improbability of her pregnancy, and praying

1 *Strypes's* Mem. v. 3, p. 168.

2 *Strype*, p. 167.

3 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3, p. 164. Parliam. hiſt. v. 3. p. 336. *Fox*, v. 3, p. 114. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 315.

4 *Strype* Mem. p. 3, p. 204. *Fox*, v. 3, p. 115. *Ambaſſades de Noailles*, v. 4, p. 29. *Carte*, v. 3, p. 313 and 317. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 312.

that God would preſerve the ſucceſſion to the right heir [1].

The recital of the long act of parliament, which repealed all the late ſtatutes againſt the papal authority, hath led our writer once more to enter upon the ſubject of the ſecurity of the church lands to the lay proprietors. What ſort of a ſecurity this would have proved had it reſted upon no ſurer foundation than the Pope's conceſſion, is moſt evident: for tho' he did indeed agree thereto, yet it was with great reluctance; and tho' he ſent bulls to his Legate for that purpoſe, yet they were loaded with ſuch *ſalvos* as plainly intimated his intentions of evading them. He often expreſſed his diſapprobation of it, and was ſtill in hopes that the uſurpers of the church's patrimony would have the conſcience to reſtore it [2], or that it might ſome time or other be wreſted out of their hands. Beſides, many ſucceeding Popes have ſet forth contrary bulls, and have annulled all ſuch alienations. In the preſent *epoch*, the late Pope *Clement* XI, following the example of ſome of his predeceſſors, gave a flagrant inſtance, that no declaration or engagement, however formal, is binding, when heretics are at all concerned.

1 *Serons --- nous ſi beſtes, O nobles Anglois, que de croire noſtre royne eſtre enceinte; & de quoy le ſeroit ---- elle, ſinon d'un marmot ou d'un dogne? Ambaſſades de Noailles, v. 4. p. 26.*

2 *Quirini, v. 5, p. 107.* in a letter from cardinal *Morone* to *Pole*, dated 1556.

for

For in a bull of his addreſſed in 1712 to the King of the *Romans*, his Holineſs "cancels "all promiſes and oaths made in favour of "proteſtants; declaring them null and void, "whenever they are prejudicial in any man-"ner to the catholic faith, the ſalvation of "ſouls, or to any rights of the church what-"ſoever; even though ſuch engagements have "been often ratified and confirmed.[1]". So that, what one Pope ſolemnly confirms another can as ſolemnly reſcind, and both claim an equal plenitude of authority. If therefore the papal diſpenſation be all the aſſurance the lay poſſeſſors of the church lands have for their ſecurity, it is none at all. Any future infallible head of the church (ſhould opportunity offer) may allege ſome pretence or other for the reſumption of what was unalienably annexed to the church, as *conſecrations made to the ſupreme Being, of a real and perpetual nature; and as it were veſted in him, and not to be taken back without his conſent, ſignified by thoſe he hath appointed interpreters of his will and delegates of his power.* (1ſt pt. p. 218.)

The Legate, ſays our author, *had accompliſhed a work, which required a zeal and abilities as enlightened and extenſive as his: and now a foreign great exigence called him forth, in which, if he had not the ſucceſs he met with in his own country, his integrity and talents*

[1] *Clem.* XI. *P. Max. Ep. Brevia*, v. 2, p. 179.

for negotiation appeared to no leſs advantage and were acknowledged with equal applauſe (p. 107). This *great exigence* was a treaty of peace, which the Legate, the lord chancellor *Gardiner*, the lords *Paget* and *Arundel*, were to mediate between *France* and the Emperor. Mr. *P.* here tells us how high an opinion *Noailles* the *French* ambaſſador had of his hero's political talents. That miniſter doth indeed ſpeak very reſpectfully of *Pole* in many of his letters. But when the cardinal appeared at the congreſs, *Noailles* ſoon found *Gardiner's* obſervation to be true, that his abilities were not anſwerable to ſuch an undertaking. He ſays that the *Legate* was only a cipher [1], and that he dared not to propoſe any thing till the other commiſſioners gave him leave [2]. This treaty was ſoon broken off, but afterwards was renewed in *London*: and the ambaſſador is again ſo far from ſpeaking of the *Legate's* political talents *with applauſe*, that he complains greatly of his timidity, and caution, of his want of vigour, execution and abilities to conduct ſuch negotiations [3]. He does indeed, as Mr. *P.* ſays, *elſewhere ſpeak in the moſt honourable manner of him* (p. 112); and rejoiced at his being in the miniſtry; with great reaſon truly, for it clearly appears, that he had procured *Parpalia*, the abbot of

1 *Ambaſſades de Noailles*, *v.* 4, *p.* 326.
2 *Le Même*, *v.* 4, *p.* 355.
3 *Le Meme*, *v.* 5, *p.* 235, 236. 286.

San

San Salute, to be a ſpy upon him, from whom he had clear intelligence and full information of all his maſter's actions, and the ſecret intrigues of ſtate [1].

Though the Legate had great influence with the Queen, yet *Gardiner* the chancellor was in many inſtances a check upon him. This of courſe created a jealouſy between them: upon *Gardiner's* death the *Legate* had no rival. So memorable a perſonage as this prelate was muſt not be paſſed by unnoticed. He was a man of great political craft, and, in that reſpect, the ableſt ſtateſman the Queen had. He had prevented her from taking many diſgraceful and offenſive ſteps. Knowing the temper of the nation, he oppoſed both the *Spaniſh* match and the *Legate's* powers; but the Queen's violence obliged him to yeild. However as much as laws could bind, he prevented *Philip* from reaping thoſe advantages from the marriage, which the intrigues of his father and the Queen's paſſion would otherwiſe have procured him; neither would he permit the Legate to exerciſe any powers without a commiſſion under the great ſeal. The writers of the *Biographia Britannica* have taken great pains to blanch this prelate's character. From them hath Mr. *P.* drawn his account, and referreth to them. They do indeed ſpeak favourably of *Gardiner*, and at-

1 *Le Meme*, *v.* 5, *p.* 139. 165. 289, &c.

tempt

tempt to clear him of being the author of the cruelties exercised in *Mary's* reign, by — laying the blame of them chiefly upon *Pole*. He was, in fact, a persecutor of the protestants, and in his examination of them often grossly rude and insolent; but growing weary at last of the drudgery, he gave over condemning and burning. That odious employment he left to the more zealous and impetuous *Bonner*, and betook himself to the management of the state, at a time when a good head joined to a bad heart might exert itself to the best advantage.

One of the first acts of *Pole's* legantine authority was to grant commissions for the prosecution of heretics. Soon after others were issued out to the bishops and officials of the vacant Sees to reconcile and absolve both clergy and laity. But to these were tacked some instructions, which shew, that notwithstanding the good opinion some of our historians have entertained of *Pole*, he brought with him the spirit of an inquisitor. For by them the ordinaries were authorized to proceed against and to punish heretics and schismatics; and, that such might be effectually discovered, they were required to register the names and respective parishes of every one who had been formally reconciled to the church; and all others were to be summoned to appear at the next visitation, and to be proceeded against as obstinate offenders. Thus early did the cardinal put the bishops upon executing the san-

ſanguinary laws lately revived[1]. We cannot but obſerve with what candor our Biographer draws a veil over that perſecuting diſpoſition which theſe *documents* (had they been laid before the reader) would have betrayed in his hero. He very honeſtly removes them out of ſight, and haſtily ſlurs them over in that heap of inſignificant *regulations* which *throw no further light on the character of Pole, or on the ſtate of the nation as it ſtood related to him* (p. 142). He rather chuſes to amuſe his readers for ſeveral pages together with the *Legate's* ſpeculative plan of reformation, in thoſe *ſynodical decrees* propoſed by him to the convocation, which were to eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* faith and ritual. But as they contain nothing new of doctrine or diſcipline, we will paſs them by, as not worth any conſideration; only remarking, that Mr. *P.* hath miſrepreſented, and, as uſual, ſoftened every circumſtance which might be offenſive to a proteſtant ear.

When theſe decrees were agreed to by the convocation, the *Legate* ſent an abſtract or ſummary of them to *Rome* for the Pope's approbation. Cardinal *Morone* was ordered to tell him, that his Holineſs was much pleaſed with the ſummary tranſmitted to him, and waited for the decrees in form, when he would confirm every part of them that ſhould appear

1 *Strype's Cranmer*, *p.* 346. Appendix, p. 191.

right

right and proper. And then, to match one reformation with another, he informs the Legate, that 150 common ſtrumpets had been reformed by the preaching of one friar, which was, ſays he, a moſt ſurprizing miracle indeed[1]!

1 *Quirini*, *v.* 5, *p.* 100 --- 102.

ANI-

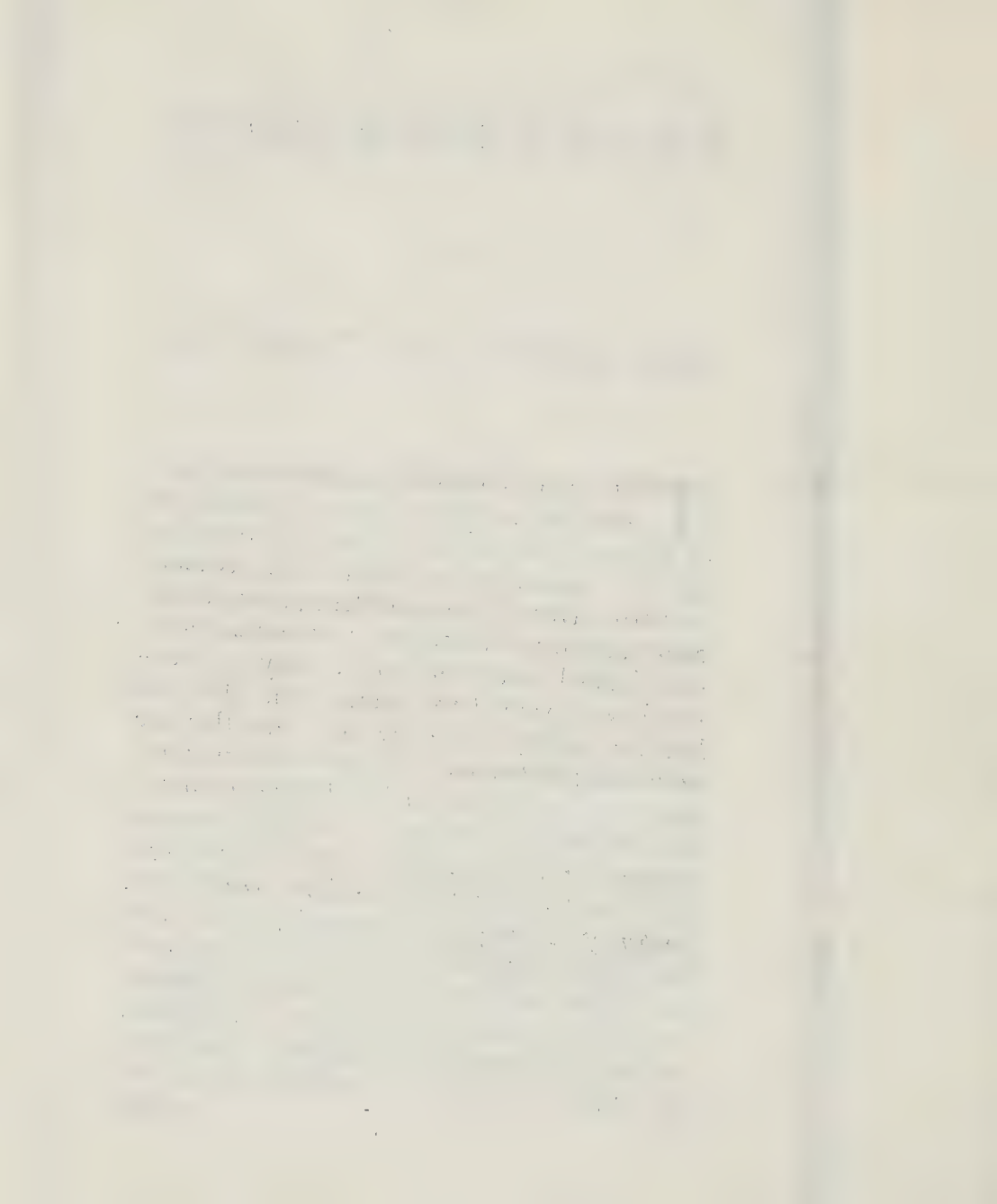
ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE TENTH.

THE great ſhare which archbiſhop *Cranmer* had in forwarding the reformation in *England*, has rendered him the object of Mr. *P's* particular animoſity. The account he hath given of this excellent prelate is one continued bitter invective, a collection of every ſcandal which falſhood, cruelty, and malice have invented to defame him. That he had his failings, we deny not; that they are here exaggerated and miſrepreſented, will appear; *if*, (as our writer has deſired us in behalf of biſhop *Gardiner*) *we neither form our opinion of him from elogy or invective, but from facts; and take into the eſtimate the various temper of the reigns he lived in* (p. 120). The firſt charge againſt him is, that he *had been one of the chief promoters of Henry's ſeparation from Catharine of Arragon, . . . and had, moreover, pronounced the ſentence of the divorce* (p. 145). But why this offence ſhould be

pecu-



peculiarly charged on *Cranmer*, or why it ſhould have ſtirred up the reſentment of the Queen againſt him only, whilſt others who were equally concerned with him were high in her favour, I leave it to Mr. *P.* to account for. He tells us, it was *to avenge the wrongs done to the religion the profeſſed* (p. 146). Probably enough; as the ſame zeal for the ſame religion has prompted him to perſecute this prelate's memory, and to load him with the moſt virulent calumnies.

An impartial relater of facts would not have omitted the great obligations the Queen had received from *Cranmer:* her contumacious behaviour in her father's reign had well nigh endangered her life, and it was his interceſſion alone, that ſoftened the King, and diverted his anger [1]. A candid hiſtorian alſo, when he told the public that *Cranmer ſubſcribed to the change of the ſettlement made in Edward's reign*, would have declared the oppoſition he made to it in council, and the reluctance with which he ſigned it at laſt; which ſufficiently teſtified it was neither his propoſal nor agreeable to his ſentiments, but that he was overcome by the perſuaſions and example of the reſt of his counſellors, and the importunity of *Edward* himſelf. *Theſe miſdemeanors*, our author ſays, *he had aggravated by ſpreading ſeditious libels, and raiſing*

1 *Strype's* Mem. of *Cranmer*, p. 431. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 241. *Hume's* Indorſ. v. 1, p. 354.

tumults;

tumults. What libels did he ſpread? what tumults did he raiſe? At the Queen's acceſſion he kept himſelf quiet. The brutal *Bonner* himſelf ſaid, 'Mr. *Canterbury* is become very humble'. This quiet behaviour of his was laid hold of by his enemies, and he was aſperſed as if he had reſtored the maſs. It was, I ſuppoſe, the anſwer the archbiſhop had prepared to this infamous lie, in which he offered to juſtify King *Edward's* liturgy, and to prove that the maſs had no foundation in SS, but was contrary to the ſame, which Mr. *P.* inſolently termeth *a ſeditious libel*. But there could be nothing in this paper treaſonable or ſeditious, becauſe the maſs was at that very time contrary to the laws of the land. How far from raiſing tumults *Cranmer* was, may appear from his ſubmitting quietly to the Queen's authority, and that his name *was at the head* of the letter which recognized her title, and ordered the duke of *Northumberland* to lay down his arms. So far was he from perſevering to oppoſe the Queen, that he confeſſed his offence in conſenting to the late King's will, and implored her mercy. She herſelf, with *all the reſentments of a woman*, was ſenſible, that ſhe could not with any decency forgive the reſt of the late King's council, and take away the life of him who was the leaſt culpable of any of them: ſhe therefore pardoned him the treaſon, but detained him in priſon for hereſy.

1 *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 248.

The

The portraiture, which our author hath exhibited of this eminent prelate, is not drawn from the original; but from the diſtorted copies which he found of it in the biſhop of *Meaux*[1] and Mr. *Dod's* hiſtories[2]: from them hath he extracted his materials, from them is his bitterneſs derived. The charges which he brings againſt the archbiſhop, though moſt ungenerouſly aggravated, and drawn out into a long detail, may be reduced to theſe two articles, hypocriſy and ſervility. At *Cranmer's* conſecration to the See of *Canterbury*, his accuſer ſays, *he retired into a private place, and entered a proteſt againſt the oath he was going to take*, (of obedience to the See of *Rome*,) *and then took it* (p. 154). The plain truth of the caſe is this: having ſcruples concerning the legality of that oath, he communicated them to the beſt canoniſts and civilians, who ſuggeſted the expedient he made uſe of; by their advice he proteſted againſt it, not in *a private place*, but publicly, at three ſeveral times, and before ſeveral witneſſes; firſt in the chapter houſe of the church in which he was to be conſecrated; ſecondly, at the high altar before his conſecrators; and laſtly, when he received his pall; declaring ſolemnly each time, that his *oath of obedience to the See of Rome* ſhould not be binding in any thing that was contrary to the laws of God, the prero-

1 *Hiſtorie des Variations, &c. v.* 1, *p.* 283, *&c.*
2 Church hiſt. v. 1, p. 370 --- 373.

gative

gative of the King, and the ſtatutes of the realm; or in matters relative to the reformation of religion, and government of the church of *England*[1]. Inſtruments were made, at his own requeſt, recording theſe repeated proteſtations. This was acting fairly, and ſignifying, in the moſt public manner, in what ſenſe and with what limitations he took this oath; and if it be ſaid, that there was *ſomething of infirmity* in this proceeding, there was alſo ſomething of great openneſs and ſincerity in it.

In conſequence of this abandoned turn of mind, ſays Mr. *P*, *he ſubſcribed to the ſix famous articles, &c.* (p. 154). This impudent falſehood can proceed only from an utter abhorrence of candour and truth. Mr. *P*. might have known, that ſubſcription to theſe articles was never enjoined at all; he could not but know (for every hiſtory of that tranſaction aſſerts it) that the archbiſhop oppoſed them in the parliament houſe with the utmoſt firmneſs and reſolution.

1 *Strype's* Mem. of *Cranme*, p. 20. Appendix, p. 9. *Fox's* acts and monuments, v. 3, p. 661. *Fuller's* church hiſt. B. 5, p. 186. We are told by Mr. *P*, that this laſt cited author *is at a loſs how to defend Cranmer againſt the articles which the celebrated Mr. Prynne, one of the ſounder few of our writers, lays to his charge* (note, p. 158). If our biographer had but conſulted theſe writers himſelf, he would hardly have ventured to refer to them: and would have been aſhamed of relying ſo ſimplicitly upon Mr. *Dod's* partial repreſentation. See his church hiſt. v. 1, p. 373. See alſo *Prynne's* antipathy of prelacy and monarchy. p. 131.

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The bill was a favorite one of the King's, and he was determined to have it paſſed; he therefore deſired *Cranmer* to go out of of the houſe, and not vote at all, if he could not give his aſſent to it. But he abſolutely refuſed to act in ſo diſingenuous a manner, and notwithſtanding the danger he was in of incurring the royal diſpleaſure, he perſevered in his oppoſition to the bill: he ſpoke againſt it repeatedly during the three days the debate laſted, and to the end he voted and proteſted againſt it [1]. What now muſt we think of the man who can pronounce in the true ſpirit of *Sanders*, that *Cranmer* ſubſcribed to the ſix famous articles? *The abandoned turn of mind* that ſuggeſted this baſe calumny will, I doubt not, be deteſted by every reader of common honeſty.

Thus much for the charge of hypocriſy. His ſervility furniſhes the next accuſation againſt him. *There was no abject compliance, . . . to which he did not let himſelf down, to flatter the paſſions of Henry VIII, and ſecure his own credit* (p. 154). The following particulars, beſides the above mentioned, will demonſtrate the malice and falſehood of this bold aſſertion. The archbiſhop, as hath been before obſerved, ſaved *Mary's* life by a ſeaſonable application to her irritated father. He interceded for Sir *Thomas More* and biſhop *Fiſher*, when they were

[1] *Strype's* life of *Cranmer*, p. 73. *Burnet*, v. 1, p. 257. 258. *Fox*, v. 2, p. 443 and p. 498.

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condemned to death for refuſing to own the King's ſupremacy. He wrote to the King in favour of *Anne Bullen* and *Cromwell*, when they lay under condemnation, and their deſtruction was reſolved on. He would not join or be concerned in the attainder of the duke of *Norfolk*, though his enemy. In *Edward's* reign he proteſted againſt the diſſolution and alienation of the chantery lands. He made warm remonſtrances to the protector againſt the embezzlement of the church revenues, and when that great man was afterwards in diſgrace, he alone had the courage not to deſert him. He oppoſed the duke of *Northumberland* during his whole adminiſtration. When biſhop *Tonſtall* was attainted for miſpriſion of treaſon, *Cranmer* not only ſpoke warmly in his defence, but proteſted againſt the bill. Theſe are facts which ſpeak for themſelves, and will place his character in a very advantageous light, and will vindicate him from the ſhameful miſrepreſentations of thoſe, who ſeem as much ſtrangers to the virtues which adorned his mind, as they are to his real character.

If ever any man deſerved the good word of his enemies, it was the amiable *Cranmer*; great learning, great probity, great candour, joined with ſweetneſs of temper, ingenuity of diſpoſition, elegance of manners, and *all the milder merit of the heart*, procured him the love and reſpect of his cotemporaries. His conſcience was upright, his mind enlightened, his

motives ſincere and manifeſt, and his life regular and unblameable. Theſe were the virtues which diſtinguiſhed *Cranmer*, and which ſecured him in *Henry's* life-time from the ſtorms of that impetuous monarch. He knew, whenever *Cranmer* was accuſed, his ſincerity would declare without reſerve the whole truth. And that Prince, whoſe caprice made him ready to give up every favorite, was ſo aſſured of the ſimplicity, integrity and honeſty of *Cranmer's* heart, that he would liſten to no inſinuations againſt him, till he had talked with him himſelf. His artleſs freedom convinced the King, that his intentions were ever moſt upright, his actions moſt diſintereſted, and his benevolence moſt warm and extenſive. By this guileleſs behaviour *Cranmer* enjoyed the love and veneration of *Henry*: of which, however, he made no other uſe but to do acts of kindneſs and lenity to his enemies, and to mollify his ſovereign's paſſions. He who can ſay falſe and ſevere things of ſuch a man *muſt be a ſtranger to the feelings of juſtice, humanity and religion* (1ſt pt. pag. 430.)

The brutal enemies of *Cranmer* were from the beginning determined to make him the object of their peculiar ſeverity. Their cruel treatment, their iniquitous proceedings, their perfidious diſſimulation were ſuch and ſo great, as muſt ſhock every humane and tender heart. The venerable Primate was caſt into priſon immediately upon the Queen's acceſſion, and

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he who had been ever remarkable for mildneſs and humanity, received from the barbarians, in whoſe power he was, nothing but outrageous mockery and inſult. At his firſt impriſonment his revenues were ſequeſtred, and the malice of his perſecutors, not content with reducing him to abſolute beggary, would not even allow others to relieve his neceſſities [1]. To omit the hardſhips of priſon, the tumult of the *diſputation at Oxford*, and other circumſtances of equal cruelty; let us attend to the inhuman behaviour of his tormentors at the cloſe of his life, when his execution was abſolutely fixed. Commiſſioners were ſent to *Oxford* to examine him: they cited him to appear at *Rome*, and there anſwer for himſelf in perſon. To prevent his obeying that ſummons, they detained him in priſon, and yet pronounced him contumacious, for not going [2]. This was not all; bigotry may excuſe this proceeding, however abſurd and ridiculous, as conſiſtent with forms of law. Theſe deteſtable miſcreants (they deſerve no better name) who had been long contriving to ſhake the Primate's firmneſs, having found him unterrified by threats and unmoved by danger, took another method. They aſſaulted the good old man with the pleaſures of life; they removed him from the mortified reſtraints of his priſon to the elegant hoſpitality of the

1 *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 450.
2 *Id.* p. 374. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 332, v. 3, p. 249.

deanery at Chriſt church; they flattered, they cajoled, they made him chearful, and, taking advantage of his flow of ſpirits, they plied their internal artillery againſt him; they mollified him by the pleaſing arguments of health, of affluence, of ſtation; they told him of the Queen's perſonal eſteem and regard for him; and reminded him of the reſpect, the love, and the attention paid him when in power. In an unguarded moment the tempters prevailed, and *Cranmer* gave up his religion. When this triumph over humanity was compleated, how did theſe Saints act? His deſtruction was determined: but this the hypocrites kept in profound ſecrecy, leſt a ſuſpicion of their helliſh deſigns might give the alarm to his conſcience, and induce him to retract the recantation which their execrable artifices had drawn from him. He was therefore kept in total ignorance of his approaching execution till he was actually led to it. But by the grace of God he recovered himſelf, and gave ſuch public proof of unfeigned contrition and invincible firmneſs of mind as retrieved his character, confounded his relentleſs adverſaries, and left a laſting ſtain upon thoſe zealots who took ſuch wicked and abominable methods to execute their vengeance. *Cranmer's* victory over thoſe diabolical agents, who thus plotted his eternal deſtruction, is recorded by us with the higheſt pleaſure.

To

To the many base tormentors of the afflicted Primate we must add the *Legate* himself, who pestered him with two such prolix and tedious letters as will ever be urged against the lenity, the ability, and the religion of *Pole* himself. One of them is preserved by *Strype* [1], and may easily be met with; the other, which attempts to defend the real presence, is not so well known. I shall therefore give a short account of it. *Le Grand* acknowledges that it savours of the declaimer [2], which in truth it doth in a very eminent degree; and is at the same time as void of argument, as it is of common humanity. Mr. *P.* however compliments it with the title of *one of the most compleat pieces of controversy that was ever penned on that characteristic article of the catholic religion.* (pag. 147.)

After an insolent apology for his entering into communication with so vile a man, and assuring him, that, was he to listen to the movements of his own nature, he should rather call upon God for fire from heaven to consume him; he proceeds, in christian charity, to load the unfortunate prelate with the most envenomed and illiberal scurrilities; charging him with hypocrisy, pride, impiety, and repeated perjuries; with abandoning himself to gross impurities and shameful passions;

1 Life of *Cranmer*. Appendix, p. 206.
2 *Histoire du divorce, &c.* v. 1, p. 259.

with mocking God, trampling on the laws, and ſeducing the king, to whom, he tells him, he had been ſubſervient in his fouleſt debaucheries; and, what is moſt notoriouſly falſe, with the guilt of the blood ſhed during that reign; for all which, ſays the mild and gentle *Legate*, was I at liberty, I would put up my cries to heaven to take vengeance upon you. But in compaſſion to his precious ſoul (as he was now a priſoner, and ſoon to ſuffer extream Puniſhment) he will ſpare his imprecations, and lay before him the things he had done, ſolely with the hopes of leading him to repentance: though after all he deſpairs of ſucceſs, ſince God had moſt ſurely abandoned and given him over to a reprobate mind; for nothing leſs than this could account for his having dared to combat a tradition of holy church.——With the like impertinent rant, and cruel, unmannerly inſults a conſiderable part of this letter is filled.

His arguments in defence of tranſubſtantiation are beyond expreſſion weak and futile, his reaſoning illogical, and his quotations from SS. moſt commonly diſtorted and miſapplied: and *this compleat piece of controverſy* is, upon the whole, a very poor defence of a very bad cauſe. Its weakneſs, however, might be paſſed by with contempt; but the malice that runs throughout it, from one end to the other, is really ſhocking. What abominable words are theſe, "for an abſolutely certainty "you are not actuated by the heavenly father, "but

"but by the prince of hell; and the whole "courſe of your conduct hath made it evi- "dent that God hath rejected you." Could any man uſe ſuch language to another whom he had a ſerious deſire of converting? Could the ſpirit of charity dictate to him a ſtrain againſt, I will not ſay, a good, a learned man, a prelate, whoſe deſtruction was at this juncture reſolved on and determined, but againſt the meaneſt and worſt of his fellow-creatures? Indeed the whole tenour of the letter breaths nothing but inſolence and inveterate rancour, notwithſtanding its impudent and hypocritical pretences, that it aims only at the ſalvation of his ſoul [1].

In truth, I cannot but look upon it as no ſmall part of *Cranmer's* ſufferings to be thus teized in his laſt hours with ſuch confuſed, impotent, ſcurrilous, deſpicable railing. Had Mr. *P.* conſulted *Pole's* honour, he would have been ſo far from ſpeaking of this vile performance of his in thoſe high terms, and thereby exciting the curioſity of his readers to peruſe it, that he would have paſſed it by in total ſilence; which indeed would have been more to the credit both of his hero and himſelf.

In the former part of his work our author harangued learnedly and laborioufly a-

[1] See *Le Grand's French* tranſlation of this letter. *Hiſtoire du divorce, v.* 1, *p.* 289. *Quirini, v.* 5, *p.* 238. *Burnet, v.* 3, *p.* 244.

gainſt

gainſt intolerant principles: *the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit* (p. 234), *Pole's mildneſs in his government of the patrimony* (p. 303), ſerved him to diſcourſe upon the *ſelf-evidence of ſuch equitable ſentiments* (p. 301). But now the times are altered, Mr. *P's* friends are at the helm. *Thoſe inhuman edicts*, which diſcovered the *frantic tyranny of Henry, and the ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the parliament* (p. 264), and which *Edward's* laws had repealed, are now revived. *The errors which ſprang up againſt the ancient faith of the church* (p. 159), the many *broachers of falſe doctrine, the preſervation and peace of the ſtate* (p. 159), will now, it ſeems, fully juſtify *a ſeverity which*, himſelf tells us, former *times could not bear, and with which it were to be wiſhed the lenity of the goſpel ſpirit had cauſed all times and all countries to have been for ever unacquainted* (1ſt pt. p. 234). Thus can our writer, *Proteus like, put on all appearances* (p. 157), and vindicate or condemn perſecution juſt as is moſt convenient to the exigences of his own friends, who are to be treated with toleration and indulgence till they can prevail; and then perſecution, as a neceſſary diſcipline, is to be inflicted by them upon their ſeditious and heretical opponents.

This is the turn Mr. *P.* gives to the horrid executions which ſtained the reign of *Mary* with ſo much blood, and have rendered her odious to all poſterity. *The provocations, the treaſonable practiſes, and indignities offered to the government, the*

the religion, and the perſon of the Queen (p. 160) are urged in mitigation of the ſeverities which followed. Without entering into a minute examination of each particular fact, we will juſt point out ſome of Mr. *P's* glaring miſrepreſentations. He aſſerts that *two years of the Queen's reign had paſſed without any thing which had the air of perſecution on account of religion.* Immediately upon her acceſſion, and even before her coronation, the priſons were filled with great numbers taken up on the ſcore of religion only [1]. And was the deprivation of the married clergy (by order from the Queen herſelf, in the firſt year of her reign), notwithſtanding the laws were yet in force that allowed their marriage, nothing *which had the air of perſecution* [2]?

In that ſtrange group of *provocations* (p. 161), which Mr. *P.* found collected together by Mr. *Dod* [3], there are ſome offences againſt the ſtate invidiouſly charged upon the proteſtants, of which however they were no ways guilty. But admitting their guilt and the juſtice of their puniſhment, will this juſtify the cruelties exerciſed on thoſe who were confeſſedly innocent, who lived peaceably, and in humble duty to the ſtate? We tax not the Queen and her miniſtry with ſeverities to rebels and traitors, to thoſe who inſulted her perſon or affronted her religion.

1 *Strype's* Mem. v. 3, p. 59, &c.
2 *Id ib.* p. 108. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 276.
3 Church Hiſt. v. 1, p. 460, 461.

We

We complain not of the death of *Northumberland*, of *Suffolk*, of *Wyat*, or of the execution of the Lady *Jane Grey* and her husband. These all had been engaged in open rebellion. But wherein had they offended, whom the wanton barbarity of bigots and perſecutors hunted out of their caves. They had broken no laws. They were not even "convinced for teaching, or dogmatizing, "contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion; they "were ſeized merely on ſuſpicion; and arti- "cles being offered them to ſubſcribe, they "were immediately upon their refuſal con- "demned to the flames[1]."

Amongſt other inſtances of indiſcreet zeal, our author produces the following. *When public prayers were ordered on a ſuppoſition of the Queen's pregnancy, a reformed clergyman made uſe of this form, that it would pleaſe God either to turn her heart from idolatry, or to ſhorten her days; and that when ſeveral who met at this aſſembly were taken up, biſhop Hooper comforted them by letter as ſuffering ſaints* (p. 161). The clergyman, whoſe name was *Roſe*, himſelf tells us, that he was taken up and accuſed before the biſhop of *Wincheſter* of having made ſuch a prayer, not in this but the laſt reign; but that he vindicated himſelf ſo thoroughly, that in his ſubſequent examinations it was not once objected to him, and he was ſoon diſcharged[2]. The letter which

1 *Hume's* Tudors, v. 1, p. 380. *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 304.
2 See his ſtory in *Fox*, v. 3, p. 934.

Hooper

Hooper ſent to thoſe, who were taken up with the clergyman for the above offence, was to encourage them to ſuffer patiently: he tells them, the word of God commands all men to pray for them that hate them, and not to revile any magiſtrate with words, or to mean them evil by force and violence [1]. We hope, Mr. *P.* will will find no fault with this doctrine.

Our author, having endeavoured to palliate theſe cruelties, tries alſo to exculpate the *Legate* from having had any ſhare in them. That *Pole's* natural temper might be averſe to ſanguinary proceedings, that theſe violent meaſures were chiefly promoted by others, and that he ſhewed ſome inſtances of clemency and compaſſion, is not to be denied; but it doth not appear that he diſſuaded the court from theſe cruelties, or exerted his influence to prevent them. The inſtance which is here pitched upon to ſhew his *clemency*, is his *chriſtian condeſcenſion in reclaiming Sir John Cheke* (p. 164). Whatever Mr. *P.* may think of this *condeſcenſion* of the *Legate*, the proceedings againſt Sir *John Cheke* reflect ignominy on all concerned in that tranſaction. It was not *Pole*, but *Feckenham* abbot of *Weſtminſter* who, *reclaimed* him [2]; and this he did

1 *Id. ibi.* p. 116. See alſo *Strype's* hiſtory, v. 1, p. 325.

2 *Strype's* life of *Cheke*, p. 142. *The Lord Priuli* alſo ſays the ſame in a letter to *Beccatelli*. *Quirini*, v. 5. p. 346.

chiefly

chiefly by the dreadful alternative, turn or burn. The uſage he received from *Pole* was cruelly mean. The penitent heretic, when brought before him by his *reclaimer*, made an acknowledgment of his errors, and earneſtly intreated him to be ſatisfied with this declaration, and to have ſo much compaſſion on his frailty, as to ſpare him the ignominy of a public recantation. Such a convert was not to be made without an open triumph. He was baited, as poor *Cranmer* had been, with recantation upon recantation. The hard-hearted *Legate*, not content with one made to himſelf, impoſed upon him the ſevere penance of making another in the preſence of the Queen. This too did not ſatisfy the zeal of his perſecutors: they compelled him to go through the farther drudgery of pronouncing a third before the whole court; which, from its verboſe prolixity, is commonly ſuppoſed to have been penned by *Pole* himſelf. And beſides all this, he was to ſubmit to whatſoever penances ſhould be enjoined him. Such was the *clemency and chriſtian condeſcenſion* which *Pole* ſhewed to Sir *John Cheke*. He made a wiſe and a worthy man miſerable and wretched; he brought him down in the meridian of life with ſhame and ſorrow to the grave. By this ungenerous, ſpiritual tyranny the unfortunate *Cheke* loſt his quiet and peace of mind, and died ſoon after heart-broken with grief and remorſe [1].

1 *Strype's* life of *Cheke*, p. 145 ---- 169. Mem. v. 3. p. 315, 316. *Biog. Brit.* b. 2d. Article *Cheke*. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 316.

Our

Our author, ſtill deſirous to give his readers a favourable opinion of the *Legate's* lenity, ſays in another place: *though he was at the head of the council, . . . he frequently differed from the generality of thoſe who compoſed it; . . . but he referred every thing to the majority; . . . . He ſuffered rigours to be exerciſed which were no leſs contrary to his judgment than inclination; . . . .* and this, it ſeems, *was the reſult of his deference to the laws and conſtitutions of his country, &c.* (p. 232). A dexterous apologiſt this truly! who endeavours to acquit his hero of cruelty, at the expence of his prudence, his courage, his honeſty. Shall *the head of the council*, ſhall the Pope's *Legate*, ſhall the *patriot Pole* (p. 230), *who was not only an ornament to his country, but an honour to human nature* (pref. p. VIII), *ſuffer rigours to be exerciſed contrary both to his judgment and inclination?* Nay, ſhall he himſelf iſſue out *commiſſions* (p. 164) for exerciſing ſuch rigours; and can he ſtand acquitted of the charge of weakneſs, puſillanimity, and acting contrary to the dictates of his conſcience? As *to the laws and conſtitutions of his country*, he found at his arrival here no law ſubſiſting for burning heretics. The laws, which were revived for this cruel purpoſe, may be partly aſcribed to his inſtigation, and their rigours began and ended with him. It was not then the *conſtitution of his country*, but the conſtitution, of popery, which drove the mild *Legate* to theſe violent meaſures.

But,

But, it seems, he adopted *Pagan* rather than christian *learning*, and comforted himself by *distinguishing between bearing what he could not help, and approving what he ought to condemn* (p. 232). Is Mr. *P.* the *Legate*'s friend, and is he not aware how little all this tends to the vindication of his hero's honour and probity? But to proceed.

The *sanguinary and compulsive measures* which were now employed *in establishing the catholic cause, or redressing the injuries done to it* (1st. pt. p. 235), perplex our author greatly: he had before frequently signified his *aversion* to them all; his art and address must therefore be applied to palliate and defend them. *It is difficult* (says he) *to determine who were the most active in carrying on prosecutions of this kind* (p. 165). The *Legate* was inclined to clemency — as we have seen. — *The greater number of the bishops were men of great moderation, &c*; and yet there were some heretics burnt in most of the dioceses in *England*[1]. *Few acts of cruelty were done by the Queen* (p. 210), that is to say, she burnt no one her self: but she was continually issuing out commissions and letters to others for that purpose. Who then was the author of all these cruelties? — *Some leading persons about the court seem to have countenanced them* (p. 165).

1 *Heylin*, p. 56. *Fuller's* Ch. Hist. b. 8. p. 16 --- 21. *Strype's* Mem. v. 3. Records, p. 291.

They

ted to enjoy, if they would live peaceably and quietly,) but for treaſon and felony; they were not put to death by the ſpiritual authority, but were tried in the ſame legal manner with other offenders againſt the ſtate, in the civil courts, and by their country. They who ſuffered, ſuffered for their conſpiracies, ſeditions, and actual attempts againſt the life of the Queen, for denying her title to the crown, and maintaining the Pope's power of depoſing her [1]. So that Mr. *Collier* himſelf owns, "when "men declared thus openly againſt the go-"vernment, 'tis no wonder if they drew a "ſtorm upon themſelves [2]." Whereas the ſufferers under *Mary* were loyal, innocent and peaceable perſons, and could offend none but bigots and inquiſitors who delighted in blood. Such was the difference between the provocations offered to the government in theſe two reigns. Mr. *P.* indeed has the audacity to compare them together, and ridicules the cenſures paſſed on the *bloody reign of Queen Mary as the diſmal ditties of the Nurſery and the threadbare ballads of antiquity.* It is hard to ſay, whether ſuch language deſerves more our pity or our contempt. This is his method of extenuating the cruelties of bigotry and ſuperſtition. This the *manner in* which

1 *Cambden's Elizabeth*, 3d ed. fol. 1675, p. 244. 270. 270. 306. 483, &c. See alſo *Walſingham's* letter to Monſr *Critey* in *Burnet*, v. 2, p. 418. *Foulis's Romiſh* treaſons, &c. p. 61, &c. *Strype's* hiſt. v. 3, p. 249. 412.

2 *Collier*, v. 2, p. 571.

he

he *chuſes to treat this ſubject, ſo as to cover heats, not ſpread and perpetuate them* (166).

Our author has not yet done juſtifying theſe perſecutions, but proceeds, as he calls it, *to elucidate the ſtate of the queſtion. Theſe laws were enacted in former reigns, and renewed in this on occaſion of open rebellion againſt the government, &c.* (p. 166). What rebellion? I know of none but *Wyat's*, and that was to prevent the *Spaniſh* match; it was ſoon quelled, and all remained quiet. *This cauſed the legiſlature to conſider hereſy not only as a grievous ſin againſt Almighty God, but as a heinous crime againſt the ſtate.* There is nothing in the doctrine of the proteſtants that can any way affect the ſtate. Obedience to the King, as ſupreme, was the doctrine of the proteſtants then, and is the doctrine of the church of *England* now. If any proteſtants at that time were guilty of rebellion or treaſon, they were juſtly puniſhable for it: it was their perſonal crime, and contrary to their religious principles. But can this juſtify the committing innocent perſons to the flames, a more cruel puniſhment than the laws inflict even on traitors and rebels? *But . . . . theſe ſtatutes are laws of the Engliſh realm, not canons of the catholic church, and make no part either of her faith or diſcipline. —— Her puniſhments extend no further than the ſpiritual ſtate of the offender . . . . ſhe is not accountable for laws which ſhe did not eſtabliſh, and leaves their execution to whom it belongs* (p. 167). Who can

read ſuch ſhameleſs evaſions without indignation? *Is it not* (to retort upon our author the cenſure he hath paſſed upon biſhop *Burnet*) *the higheſt inſult on the ſenſe and morals of his readers, to ſuppoſe them ſuſceptible of ſo groſs an impoſition.* — *As for himſelf, he muſt have drank to the dregs of that intoxicating cup with which the lying prophets are drenched, to give out ſuch abſurdities, and expect they ſhould be credited* (p. 158). It is the eccleſiaſtical judge who pronounces the ſentence: the civil magiſtrates are only the executioners of it, and compelled to the cruel task upon pain of excommunication and other cenſures [1]. It is therefore the act of the church alone, and enforced upon the civil officers with a dreadful ſanction. If her power *extends not to mutilation, or taking away the life of the delinquent* (p. 167), why are not offenders tried in the civil as well as eccleſiaſtical courts? why does not the civil magiſtrate confirm the ſentence of the church, or hear the cauſe afreſh? So far from that, *the delinquents* are never brought before the temporal courts, but carried to the ſtake without any further citation or hearing. But, ſays Mr. *P*, *the proceedings of the ſpiritual court are always concluded* with an interceſſion *to the civil magiſtrate* in behalf of the con-

[1] --- *ſine aliqua proceſſuum viſione, ſententias latas prompte exequantur, ſub excommunicationis pœna, aliiſque cenſuris.* *Innocent.* 8. *Conſtit.* 10. *Bullar. Rom. tom.* 1, p. 337. cited in *Barlow's* obſervations on Pope *Pius* V. *Bull* againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, p. 206.

demned

damned heretic: true! with the greateſt and moſt abominable impiety and hypocriſy, he is deſired *for the Love of Almighty God* to do that, which the church herſelf knows he cannot, and by her public laws has commanded him not to do[1]. Suppoſe a *ſecular Judge* ſhould take this interceſſion in the literal ſenſe, he would find himſelf as much miſtaken as the ſheriff in the reign before us was, who ſaid he could not be compelled to obey ſuch a writ, "for the which thing he was "ſore troubled (ſaith *Fox*) and in danger of "his life[2]."

But let me ask. Who was it that firſt enacted theſe laws? were they not procured by the inſtigation of popiſh biſhops and clergy? Who was it in *Mary's* time that revived them? was it not a popiſh parliament, and popiſh prelates, with the *Legate* at their head? Who was it that carried theſe laws into execution? the ſame popiſh biſhops, who loſt no time in this good work; they lighted their fires immediately, and burnt near 300 heretics in about three years. Who was it that made inquiſition after theſe heretics? the ſame popiſh biſhop and *Legate*. "But the power of

1 Thus their own canoniſts declare, *Quicquid dicatur, ad hoc fit iſta traditio ut puniatur morte. Panormitan. ad cap. novimus 27. Extra. de verb. ſignificat. ſect. 8. Solet communiter dici, quod iſta interceſſio eſt potius vocalis & colorata quam effectualis. Idem Hortienſis ibid.* both cited by *Barlow* as above, p. 208.

2 V. 3, p. 838.

the church reaches only to excommunication." Why then did they not ſtop here? why did they with the moſt hypocritical farce deſire the ſecular power not to execute that ſentence which they themſelves ordered it to do, and when they knew the death of the offender was the conſequence of his being delivered over to it? Thus the Pope *in his decree of Cranmer's condemnation*, tho' he does not expreſly mention burning him, yet *requires* the King and Queen *to deal with him . . . . . as the law directs.* What the law did direct, both he and they knew. It is little then to the purpoſe to tell us, theſe *penal laws againſt heretics* are *not canons of the catholic church.* Whether they make *part either of her faith or diſcipline*, is of no moment to enquire, ſince the condemnation of heretics is her conſtant practice. Theſe rigours, we are told, are no more to be imputed to the catholic church *than the hardſhips of impriſoned debtors, or the ſame puniſhment being aſſigned to murder and the larceny of five ſhillings, can be to the church of England.* An illuſtration this, wide of the point! theſe are merely civil offenders; the church has nothing to do with them; ſhe neither commits them to priſon, nor examines, nor condemns them. Felony, not hereſy, is their crime.

Our author muſt be hard driven, to palliate the cruelties of this reign by ſuch falſe and pitiful recriminations. We may from hence learn, what we are to expect, if ever ſuch men,

men, with ſuch principles, ſhould again get the government into their hands. The like pretences would not be wanting to revive the ſame ſanguinary laws, or enact others equally rigorous. We ſhould be condemned, *not by the canons of the church*, but by *the laws of the land*. Some *Father Phillips* or other would find us guilty of hereſy; *but he*, good man! *would beſeech the civil magiſtrate, for the love of almighty God, not to puniſh us with death, or loſs of limbs*. But notwithſtanding this, the popiſh Prince would think himſelf obliged *to condemn us to be burnt, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, in deteſtation of our guilt, and for a warning to other Chriſtians* (p. 168).

After this vindication of *the ſanguinary and compulſive meaſures* of this reign, our biographer returns to his *Legate*, who was now poſſeſſed of the See of *Canterbury*, to which he was conſecrated the very day after his predeceſſor had ſuffered at the ſtake. Mr. *P*, conſcious that this haſte might be deemed a reflection upon his hero's character, has with his uſual art repreſented the circumſtances of this tranſaction in ſuch a manner (p. 168, 169), that an unattentive reader would imagine ſome conſiderable time paſſed between the nomination and the conſecration. But *Pole* himſelf did not care to wait ſo long for *the ornaments of primacy* (p. 169). He had taken care to have all the inſtruments requiſite for his inveſtiture ready prepared, that as

ſoon as ever *Cranmer* could be conveniently diſpatched, he might ſtep into the archbiſhopric without delay[1].

Some time after, he was honoured with the chancellorſhip of both univerſities; to that of *Cambridge* he was elected almoſt immediately upon his promotion to the primacy. *His thanks to that illuſtrious body were returned by a very elegant letter* (p. 171), which Mr. *P*, ignorant of the hiſtory of the Univerſities, and the reſpective times when they admitted *Pole* to thoſe honours, repreſents as ſent to *Oxford*. The editors of the 5th volume of *Pole's* letters unluckily publiſhed that letter with this title, *Collegio Oxonienſi*; their haſty, ſervile copier looked no farther; he contented himſelf with the information that title gave him, and has adopted the blunder. The above editors, as ſtrangers to our nation, may be excuſed. But Mr. *P*. boaſts of other *documents*, and ought to have known better. If he did not take every thing upon truſt; could he have referred to the catalogue of the chancellors of *Cambridge*, and after that have made *Pole* compliment the univerſity of *Oxford* for having had *Fiſher* and *Gardiner* at the head of

1 *Illud autem ad æternam immanitatis Pontificiæ memoriam, infamiamque contra Polum valebit, quod eo Legato & accelerante integerrimus doctiſſimuſque archiepiſcopus Cranmerus igne crematus eſt.* Theſe are the words of the ſucceſſor of *Pole* in the See of *Canterbury*, who could not but know the ſecret ſprings of every thing that happened in his reign. *Parker's Antiq. Brit.* p. 357. *Hanoviæ*, 1605. See alſo *Burnet*, v. 2. p. 327. and 340.

their

their ſtudies, when that very catalogue would have aſſured him, that they were his predeceſſors as chancellors of *Cambridge*? And if he had attentively conſulted *Wilkins*, his other authority, and compared dates; he could hardly have made that letter an acknowledgment to the univerſity of *Oxford* for chuſing him their chancellor, which was written full ſeven months before that honour was conferred upon him [1].

A ſuppoſed compliment in the preface to the *Oxford* ſtatutes, which our author found in the *Biographia Britannica* [2], ſerves him for a freſh occaſion of applauding his hero. We would not willingly detract from the praiſes of *Pole*; but if Mr. *P.* will take the trouble to conſult the preface itſelf, he will find he hath reſtrained what relateth to the ſtatutes and manners of the univerſity to the government of *Pole*, and what the preface itſelf manifeſtly extends to all the intervening time from the chancellorſhip of *Wolſey* to that of archbiſhop *Laud*; by whom the preſent ſtatutes were finiſhed and ſettled; which, ſays the archbiſhop himſelf, "cardinal *Wolſey* firſt, and "after him cardinal *Pool*, aſſayed, but left as "imperfect as they found them [3]."

1 The Letter which Mr. *P.* tells us was ſent to the Univerſity of *Oxford* is dated *Greenwich*, *April* 1. 1556. And the election of *Pole* to the chancellorſhip, according to *Wilkins* in the place he refers to, bears date *November* 2. 1556.

2 Article *Pole*, note R.

3 Hiſt. of his Tryal and Troubles, p. 304.

On

On this account several candid proteſtant writers have acknowledged this ſeat of learning (the univerſity of *Oxford*) *to have flouriſhed more in his time than either under Edward or Elizabeth* (p. 172). What theſe writers ſay, I know not; no other teſtimony is produced beſides the above preface. Sure I am, the *Oxford* hiſtorian ſpeaks in no ſuch high ſtrain of the flouriſhing ſtate of the univerſity under *Pole's* government. He tells us, that the univerſity was viſited in 1556 by a commiſſion from *Pole* as *Legate:* for he was not elected chancellor till towards the latter end of the year. One of theſe commiſſioners was *Ormanett*, a favorite and truſty ſervant of *Pole's* (p. 189), who is recorded to have behaved with the moſt intolerable arrogancy [1]. The viſitors, as ſoon as they had opened their commiſſion, exerted their zeal againſt hereſy in a notable manner. They burned all the *Engliſh* tranſlations of and comments upon the Bible, and every book they could find written in defence of the reformation, whether kept in public libraries or private ſtudies; and fined or expelled the owners of them. And ſuch ſtrict enquiry did they make after heretics, that they forced them all to fly and abſcond. They would alſo have burned the dead body of the wife of *Peter Martyr*;

[1] *In Ormanetto nil aliud quam arrogantia intolerabilis eminebat; qua re tam mirifice excellebat, ut ne fingi quidem aut cogitari quicquam poſſit arrogantius.*
Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. 1, *p.* 279.

but

but here they were at a loſs. They could not get full proof of her having maintained any heretical opinions: witneſſes were carefully ſought after, and examined on that point; but it ſeems they were ſcrupulous, and would not atteſt it upon oath, as they did not underſtand *German*, the only language ſhe could ſpeak. The important affair was therefore referred to the *Legate*, who reſolving in his mind, that both ſhe and her huſband had broken their vows of chaſtity, ordered the body to be removed, leſt it ſhould contaminate the aſhes of St. *Frideſwide*, near whoſe tomb it had been buried. In obedience to his commands, it was taken out of the holy ground, and, to make ſome atonement to the Saint for the affront ſhe had received, was thrown into a dunghill [1]. Theſe were the feats of the viſitors at this place; which, we ſuppoſe, were found *neceſſary for the better regulation of the univerſity* (p. 172).

After theſe extraordinary proceedings, what was the ſtate of the univerſity the following year? The ſame author acquaints us the divinity ſchool was ſhut up. The ſalary of the *Margaret* profeſſor was applied to the repairs of the ſchools. There were not found Divines enough to perform the ſtatutable exerciſes. Hardly one ſermon was preached in a month. The public profeſſors either through idleneſs or ignorance ſcarcely ever read. The *Greek* lan-

1 *Id. ib. Biog. Brit.* Article *Pole*, Note R.

guage

guage was entirely neglected [1]. This was the ſtate of learning in the univerſity during the government of *Pole*. It was bad enough in *Edward's* time, but it was now worſe. We may form ſome conjecture of its deplorable condition, and the little encouragement given to learning in *Mary's* days, from hence; that during her whole reign, there proceeded only three Inceptors or Doctors in divinity, eleven in law, and ſix in phyſic; and proportionably few in Arts. There were indeed ſome of eminence in logical and philoſophical knowledge; — but it was remarked, that many who promiſed well at firſt, by pride, and indulgence in eating and drinking, made themſelves quite ſtupid; and loſt their ability with their diligence [2]. This is *Wood's* account how little *this Seat of learning flouriſhed* under the auſpices of *Pole*. — He tells us further, how very ſoon the ſcene changed, when the glorious ſucceſſor of *Mary* promiſed to be a friend to learning and the univerſities [3]. She performed her word: by her encouragement, a ſpirit of learning and emulation revived; the univerſity recovered its ancient ſplendor. Its fame and reputation were even raiſed to an height unknown before by the labours and abilities of thoſe illuſtrious worthies, who, opening all the ſtores of knowledge, reflected

1 *Id. ib.* p. 280.
2 *Id. ib.* p. 280, 281.
3 *Id. ib.* p. 281. *A. D.* 1558.

honor

honor upon the place of their education [1], and were ſo many ornaments not only to their country but alſo to human nature.

Some few, civil, complimentary letters having paſſed between *Pole* and *Ignatius of Loyola the founder of the order of the Jeſuits* (p. 173); our biographer takes occaſion to cenſure biſhop *Burnet* and others, who *have aſſerted the Legate's diſapprobation of this order, and his oppoſing its eſtabliſhment amongſt us* (p. 174). To confound theſe *ſhufflers*, and to remove *popular prejudices againſt the character of that celebrated perſonage Ignatius* (p. 173), our author produces his *documents*. All that we learn from them is what follows. *Ignatius* wrote to *Pole*, "to congratulate him "upon the reduction of *England* to the ca- "tholic faith: he gave an account of the "flouriſhing ſtate of his ſociety, and offered "to admit into it any young *Engliſh* gentle- "men he would recommend to him [2]." The *Legate* in his anſwer replied to every other part of *Ignatius's* letter, but took not any the leaſt notice of this offer [3]. In another letter to the ſame Saint, he expreſſed a general regard for him and his ſociety, — but ſtill was ſilent as to this particular [4]. In a letter of condolance, which he wrote afterwards to *Laines* upon the death of *Ignatius*, he recom-

1 *Id. ib.* p. 289, 290.
2 *Quirini*, v. 5, p. 117.
3 *Id. ib.* p. 119.
4 *Id. ib.* p. 120.

mends

mends himſelf to the prayers of him and his ſociety; but not a word is there mentioned of encouraging the order, or inviting any of it into *England*[1]. Theſe are all the *documents* relating to this affair. Mr. *P.* however ventures, upon the ſtrength of theſe ſlight, trifling *minutes*, to call biſhop *Burnet's* relation a *ſhuffling article* (p. 147, note): but he hath not offered any arguments to prove it ſo. The biſhop hath named his authority for what he ſaid[2]; and other writers have confirmed his accounts. From them it appears, that the Jeſuits unfortunately made uſe of a wrong expedient to prevail upon the *Legate* to admit their *eſtabliſhment amongſt us*: they repreſented the benedictines as a burthen to the public, and wanted to obtain their ſuppreſſed monaſteries for themſelves. *Pole*, who *was the patron of the Benedictine Order* (1ſt pt. pag. 460), would not liſten to their propoſals, rejected their offer with indignation, and would neither employ them, nor allow them to come into *England*. This provoked the ſociety againſt him ſo highly, that they ever after conſidered him as their mortal enemy[3].

Mr. *P.* might have paſſed by in ſilence the above epiſtolary correſpondence between *Ig-*

1 *Ib. id.*

2 An *Italian* MS. found in *Venice* by Mr. *Crawford*, chaplain to the *Engliſh* Envoy at that place, v. 2, p. 328.

3 *Hiſtoire des religieux de la Compagnie de Jeſus*, *v.* 1. *p.* 182 --- 184. *Raſcl de Selva's* life of *Ignatius*, *Eng.* Tr. v. 2, p. 33, 34.

natius

natius and *Pole*, if his only motive for relating it was to *give us a different idea of the former from what we entertained before*. Excepting that we hereby get a freſh inſtance of the vanity and impertinence of that enterprizing, extravagant enthuſiaſt, I believe, our ideas of him will ſtill continue juſt the ſame: and ſo will they of his ſociety too, notwithſtanding the encomiums here beſtowed upon it. He has given us his reaſons why he makes mention of *Ignatius*. But why was that fanatic *Francis Xavier* introduced? plainly, to diſplay *the uncommon gifts* (p. 177) of that truly Jeſuitical Saint. Now, ſince Mr. *P.* has gone out of the way to do him honour, we alſo will throw in our mite, and ſtop a little to record one *gift* with which he was endowed, uncommon enough in a certain order of men. He was able to expreſs his real ſentiments without equivocation or diſguiſe: of this he gave a notable example, when he avowed (I doubt not with much honeſty and ſincerity) that "miſſionaries without muſkets "do never make converts to any purpoſe[1]."

1 *Geddes's* Church hiſt. of *Ethiopia*, preface, p. 2.

ANI-

ANIMADVERSIONS
ON
SECTION THE ELEVENTH.

WHILST *Pole* was buſily engaged in the exerciſe of his Legantine juriſdiction, in compleating the reunion of his country with the catholic church, and deſtroying that peſtilential brood of heretics which had infected it; he was ſurprized with information from *Rome*, that the Pope had deprived him of all the powers belonging to his office. *Paul* IV. was engaged in a war with *Philip of Spain King of England, which was either the cauſe or the pretext for a rupture between France and Spain* (p. 178). The *Engliſh Legate* very imprudently preſuming to offer his advice, and to expreſs his wiſhes for *an accommodation, awakened in the Pope's breaſt an ancient malevolence he had entertained againſt him* (p. 180). He knew him ever devoted to the intereſts of *Spain*. He wanted a *Legate* at the court of *England*, like himſelf, vigorous and reſolute; who by taking the lead

lead in council, and gaining the Queen's confidence, might prevent her from engaging in her husband's quarrels. So long as *Pole* remained in that station, he was apprehensive, that by his instigation she might enter into alliances destructive to his politics. In spite therefore of every remonstrance and solicitation to the contrary, he nominated another *Legate*, and reduced *Pole* to the humble state of an ordinary bishop.

Considering the many eminent services the *English* cardinal had rendered the See of *Rome*, he might have hoped for better usage from her supreme pontiff: not that, we think, the injury or the oppression he met with from the Pope could possibly be called *the severest crucible in which heaven tries and refines the purest virtue* (p. 178); or that he shewed that *fortitude, heroism*, and *greatness of soul* (p. 170) which Mr. *P.* talks of, in *bearing up under such an oppression*; for he remonstrated as strongly as he could to the Pope and to others against it. After all, what did he lose? was it life, liberty, or estate? nothing like it. These were the *crucibles in which* he himself *tried and refined the virtues of* others. By this resentment of the Pope he lost nothing more, than a little outward pomp and shew: the *silver cross* (p. 89) was not carried before him, and the other ornaments of the *Legate's* office were dropt. But if, as we are told, *the manner in which he exercised that office put him to a considerable expence*; and *every department of*

it

it was ſerved without fees (p. 228); he might perhaps in one reſpect be a gainer. He had, beſides the revenues of the See of *Canterbury*, *a penſion allotted him of* 1500 *pounds upon the biſhoprick of Wincheſter* (p. 228), which, as he "practiſed the principles of *Italian* thrift[1]," would ſufficiently anſwer all his expences as primate, and afford him noble opportunities of doing good with that income.

The cardinal however did not reliſh this diminution of his greatneſs; he drew up a *juſtification* of himſelf; but *perceiving it would be unfavorable to the Pope's reputation, he threw it into the fire* (p. 205): thus his duty got the better of his reſentment. His champion has no ſuch ſqueamiſh ſcruples; he is not inclined to hide his *father's ignominy* (p. 226), but revenges the injuries his hero received from this imperious pontiff, by *giving the reader the entertainment and inſtruction of his character, . . . whoſe malevolence to the Engliſh cardinal ſeems*, he ſays, *in a great meaſure, to have been founded* in the indulgence of *a ruling paſſion, and in the total oppoſition of diſpoſitions which was cauſed by it* (p. 197, note). We will not interfere in this quarrel between his Holineſs and our cardinal. Mr. *P.* is welcome to make as free with the character of *Paul* IV, or any other of the infallible heads of his church, as he pleaſeth. Only we cannot help laying before the reader

1 *Fuller's* Church Hiſt. b. 8, p. 41.

a freſh

a freſh inſtance of our author's diſingenuity in the note, where the long detail of this Pope's character is drawn up: which, except two or three ſentences taken out of one of *Pole's* letters, and referred to (p. 200) is extracted, as we have before obſerved,[1] out of *Gratiani de caſibus illuſtrium virorum.* To elude detection, every artifice is employed; the order obſerved by *Gratiani* is frequently broken, and his narration tranſpoſed: to prevent any ſuſpicion of this deceit, a ſentence is openly quoted from him in the body of the note (p. 198); and he is referred to at the concluſion of it, not as furniſhing the whole account, (which he in fact doth) but only as a confirming evidence, together with others, to ſupport that narration which Mr. *P.* would impoſe upon us for his own.

Upon the Queen's vigorous interpoſition, who made the reſtoring the Legantine juriſdiction to *Pole* a national affair[2], and by his own ſubmiſſive behaviour, his Holineſs re-

1 P. 44.

2 If Mr. *P.* had not been afraid of *trifling with the miſrepreſentations of writers of ſome note.* (pref. p. x.) he might have illuſtrated this article with ſome *documents*, which that faithful, accurate and valuable hiſtorian Mr. *Strype* has preſerved concerning it: who has inſerted in his memorials of the reformation, the ſubſtance of that letter which *Pole* ſent by *Ormanet* to the Pope; as alſo remonſtrances from the King and the Queen, from the council or parliament, and from the nobility, to the Pope, to diſſuade him from the revocation of the *Legate's* powers. Mem. v. 3, p. 392 ---- 398. Records, p. 231 ---- 237.

lented; he connived at his continuing to exerciſe that office, and would doubtleſs have formally reinſtated him in it; as he declared, that when peace was made between him and *Philip*, he would ſend his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* to ſettle this matter both with the King, and with *Pole* [1]. The pleaſure which the cardinal received from this information, was ſoon interrupted by the death of the Queen of *England*.

She had been for ſome time in a declining ſtate of health, which was increaſed by great uneaſineſs of mind. She found herſelf hated by her ſubjects, deſpiſed by her enemies, ſlighted by her huſband, unſucceſsful in peace, unfortunate in war, and diſtreſſed at home: theſe reflections preyed upon her ſpirits, and brought on a ſlow fever of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and inglorious reign: "every "dreary year of which was blackened by re-"markable diſaſters, and by ſuch acts of in-"juſtice, rapine, violence, oppreſſion, and "tyranny, as *Spaniſh* councils only could have "ſuggeſted: and, having reduced the nation "to the brink of ruin, ſhe left it, by her "ſeaſonable deceaſe, to be reſtored by her ad-"mirable ſucceſſor to its ancient proſperity "and glory [2]."

As moſt of our modern hiſtorians have either not allowed or miſrepreſented the laudable qua-

1 *Vit. Poli*, p. 47. *Pallav.* L. 14. c. 2. n. 6.
2 *Carte*, v. 3, p. 354.

lities

lities of this Princeſs, &c. (p. 208); *and becauſe the candour of proteſtant hiſtorians has fully juſtified her much injured character, I ſhall content my ſelf*, ſays Mr. *P*, *with copying it from theſe originals, and almoſt in their own words* (p. 209). An ingenious way this truly! *to juſtify the much injured character of this Princeſs*, by ſelecting a few paſſages from a few hiſtorians, wherein ſome of her private good qualities are candidly acknowledged, and by ſuppreſſing others, which would bear hard upon her memory. All the authorities, (except that of Sir *R. Baker*) which Mr. *P.* hath referred to (p. 210, note) in behalf of her *laudable qualities* (p. 208) Mr. *Dod* had already collected before him, and almoſt in the ſame words [1]. If inſtead of contenting himſelf with that author's disfigured copy of thoſe originals, he had inſpected the hiſtorians there quoted, he would hardly have appealed to any of them as *juſtifiers of the Queen's much injured* character; and would have found, that though their *candour* induced them to ſpeak tenderly of her religious and merciful diſpoſition, yet their regard to truth obliged them at the ſame time to own her weakneſs and bigotry, and to *dwell, at large, on the failings of her government* [2].

1 Church hiſtory, v. 1, p. 464.

2 That the reader may judge for himſelf, whether the ſentiments of theſe writers are fairly and fully repreſented or no, by Mr. *Dod* and Mr. *P*, let him inſpect their hiſtories, and then determine. v. *Collier*, v. 2, p. 406. *Cam-*

The concurrent teſtimony of our hiſtorians repreſent this reign as the moſt diſgraceful in the *Engliſh* annals, and the death of the Queen as a fortunate event. From what we have obſerved before, her religion was the religion of a bigot, well meant, but ill-directed. Her private life, however, it may be ſaid, was ſtrict and unblemiſhed; but will this excuſe the guilt of that perſecuting ſpirit, which, effacing the natural tenderneſs of her ſex, taught her to look upon the killing of heretics as doing God ſervice? From this principle, it was, that ſhe forgot every call to compaſſion, and every ſentiment of gratitude. *Noailles*, in his negotiations, deſcribes her, as one who gave herſelf up entirely to chagrin and melancholy. He tells us, that in the abſence of her huſband, ſhe ſpent her time in tears, in complaints, and in writing to him, and in anger againſt her ſubjects; that ſhe was ſuſpicious of the nobility, and even of her council, and hardly knew whom to truſt [1]. — That ſhe vented her ſpleen and reſentment for the ſlights ſhe received from the King, by making great numbers feel the cruel rigour of juſtice, and die by the fire and the ſword [2]. By this behaviour, and the abſurd plan of politics purſued throughout this reign, the Queen loſt

den's Introduction to the Annals of Q. *Elizabeth*, p. 10. *Fuller's* ch. hiſt. b. 8, p. 42. Sir *R. Baker's* chronicle, p. 324. *Echard*, p. 327.

1 *Ambaſſades des Noailles*, *v.* 5, *p.* 362.

2 *Id. ib.* p. 370.

the

the love and affection of her ſubjects; who conſidered her death as their deliverance from the wanton tyranny of perſecutors and ſtrangers, who made this reign memorable only for the calamities, cruelties and misfortunes of it.

Cardinal *Pole* barely ſurvived the Queen; the ſame day put an end to both their lives. Some few days before his death, *he wrote a letter* (ſays Mr. *P.*) to her (p. 210). If our biographer had conſulted the *Engliſh* hiſtorians upon this article, they would have aſſured him, that this letter was not written to her, but to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, that, as the Queen's recovery was deſpaired of, and ſhe herſelf likely ſoon to ſucceed to the crown, ſhe might harbour no reſentment againſt him for the ill uſage ſhe had met with[1]. This letter we may conclude was well received; for the new Queen not only permitted the cardinal, according to his deſire in his will, to be buried at *Canterbury*, and, at the requeſt of his executor, allowed two biſhops to attend the funeral; but alſo ordered letters

1 See *Collier*, v. 2, Records, p. 88, N°. 75, and *Strype*, Hiſt. v. 1, p. 50; who have given this letter in the cardinal's own words: and ſo have the editors of the 5th vol. of *Pole's* letters, p. 275. But theſe foreigners, following Mr. *Hearne's* miſtake, (from whoſe collection of letters inſerted at the end of his edition of *Livy* of *Friuli's* life of *Henry* V, they took it,) having put this title to it, *Epiſtola Cardinalis Poli ad Mariam Reginam Angliæ*, our author copied their blunder: tho' the ſubject matter of the letter plainly ſignifies to which Queen it was written.

from the privy council to be iſſued out for the better recovery of all debts and arrears due to him at the time of his deceaſe [1]; that every thing might be ſettled to the ſatisfaction of his executor, and that he might not leave the kingdom, but with the ſtrongeſt proofs of the court's attention to juſtice, honour, and equity.

1 *Strype's* hiſtory, v. 1, p. 37, 38.

ANI-

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE TWELFTH.

WE are now come to our biographer's concluding ſection, in which he profeſſes to *draw, as it were, to one point, and repreſent in an uninterrupted view thoſe particular virtues which diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral parts of* his hero's *life* (p. 217). Here, therefore, we might have expected ſome maſterly ſtrokes of his own pencil: but the ſame piece of patch-work which marks all the former parts of his performance is continued in this recapitulation of it. There is ſcarce a circumſtance, tho' ever ſo minute, which is not taken from the foreign writers of the cardinal's life: to eſcape indeed the purſuit of his reader, Mr. *P.* leaps from one article to another; and gives himſelf the trouble to tranſpoſe ſome of their ſentences, not to preſent us with any of his own obſervations, but only the better to puzzle the ſcent. He does however, to ſave his credit in caſe of detection, vouchſafe, in one

one or two places, to refer to them, as his authorities, for a few particulars: whereas, in fact, almoſt every remark through this ſummary of the cardinal's character is deduced from them, the phraſe and arrangement only a little varied [1].

We have ſeen in the courſe of this work, how violently our *Engliſh* hiſtorian's prejudices have hurried him beyond the bounds of truth, decency, and impartiality. *The ſtrength of the impreſſion*, which he felt in favor of his all accompliſhed original, has really *raiſed him to a ſtrain, which ſobriety of thought cannot always approve* (pref. p. VI); and undoubtedly flattered him, he ſhould *be able to draw his readers into the ſame vortex* (ib. p. VII). That they may not be abſorbed in it, we have endeavoured to conſider the character of cardinal *Pole*, as we have found him repreſented in the general hiſtory of the *epoch* in which he lived, and in *the trueſt copy of himſelf, his epiſtolary intercourſe* (ib. p. XI), and other writings, which are ſaid to be *the faithful meſſengers of his heart* (ib. p. XII). From theſe, have we formed our opinion of him: and having attended his modern hiſtorian throughout his work; we will, after his example, conclude with ſome remarks upon the character of his hero, from the review we have taken of his life.

[1] *Vit. Poli*, from p. 51. to the end.

At

At his firſt introduction into public life, he cultivated an intimate acquaintance with *Bembo*, *Longolius*, and other *Italian* critics, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the affectation of uſing no word or phraſe, which was not to be found in *Cicero:* from them he caught that verboſeneſs obſervable in all his compoſitions, in which the poverty of his ſentiments is diſguiſed by a cloud of words. When a metaphor falls in his way, he gives it no reſt, but dwells upon it in ſuch a manner, as to bewilder his reader almoſt as much as himſelf. Were we not fully convinced of his piety, we ſhould be apt to cenſure him as a profane perverter of ſcripture; for he is ever blending it with his own language, and impertinently and perſonally applying it, as his fancy leads him, upon every occaſion.

His oppoſition to *Henry's* divorce and ſupremacy, loſes all the merit of proceeding from principle and conſcience, from the manner in which he expreſſed it. Forgetting all the duty and obligation he owed to the King of *England*, he deſcended to the loweſt and coarſeſt invectives againſt him; and never ſcrupled to engage in any deſign againſt his ſovereign, and his country. His zeal ſanctified all ſuch actions; and made him eſteem them meritorious, as undertaken in ſupport of the cauſe of Chriſt, and his religion.

There is no part of his character more amiable than when we view him in his retirements, and in the ſocial intercourſes with

private

private friends: here he appeared to great advantage, and diſplayed all the endearing good qualities of the polite ſcholar, the chearful companion, and the ſincere friend. His fame would have been handed down to poſterity with undiminiſhed luſtre, if he had never engaged in the turbulent, active ſcenes of life; for which he either was not deſigned by nature, or had rendered himſelf unfit by indulging an indolent and timid diſpoſition. His rank and ſtation indeed frequently forced him upon public employments, in which he ſeldom anſwered the high opinion conceived of him. At the two councils of *Trent*, where he preſided as one of the Pope's *Legates*, nothing memorable or material is recorded of him; no traces are to be found of his vigour and activity. He left the ſecond council, pleading his ill ſtate of health, before any of the moſt intereſting articles were debated, to the great regret of his colleagues, who were diſpleaſed at his departure. That we are not miſtaken in thus charging cardinal *Pole* with indolence and inactivity; let us conſider what his behaviour was in *England*, when inveſted with his Legantine powers. He bewailed indeed the ſins of the nation, he reunited it to the papal church, and abſolved it from the grievous crime of hereſy: this he could not help doing himſelf: but he did nothing further belonging to his ſpiritual juriſdiction; he neither ordained, nor conſecrated; nor did he viſit, even his own ſmall dioceſe, or his peculiars;

liars; but performed all these branches of his duty by commission [1]. His pen, however, was not idle: he was perpetually employed in writing volumes of canons, articles, injunctions, and letters. He could be active enough upon paper: and here all his vigour spent itself.

Much is said by his panegyrist in praise of his *remarkable mildness, and his lenient arts, to those who dissented from the doctrine of his church*: and *Dr. Burnet's extorted concession* is produced in confirmation of this assertion (p. 232). It is true, that prelate had once a favorable opinion of the cardinal's mildness: but upon further examination, he retracted that *concession*, and owned "he found, that "*Pole* was not so mild, as he had represented "him [2]." No colouring can disguise, no excuses can palliate, his insolent and inhuman behaviour to *Cranmer* and *Cheke*. His zeal was not satisfied with the persecution of the living heretics, as he called them: it was exerted also beyond the grave. Being the *Legate* of the fancied successor of St. *Peter*, he seems to have imagined, that he had the power, by the help of *Peter's* keys, to open the doors of purgatory; and he attempted to exercise it, but it was not with the charitable intent of freeing any souls from their imaginary confinement, but to thrust them, if possible, from thence into hell. We have already considered

1 *Strype* Mem. v. 3, p. 454.
2 *Burnet*, v. 3, p. 261.

one

one ſingular inſtance of wanton barbarity acted, by his orders, at *Oxford*, upon the dead body of the wife of *Peter Martyr*. He who formerly reproached *Henry* VIII, for his ſacrilege in diſturbing the aſhes of *Thomas a Becket*, now cloſely followed his example, and ſent his commiſſioners to *Cambridge*, to take up, and burn for hereſy, the dead bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius*, two reforming divines, who had been profeſſors in that univerſity, the one of Divinity, the other of Hebrew: what the *Legate* commanded, his Delegates performed.

After theſe inſtances of frantic zeal, may not the mildneſs and humanity of *Pole* be called in queſtion? if not: can thoſe religious principles which impelled him to act ſo contrary to thoſe amiable virtues, to his naturally good diſpoſition, be too much abhorred and deteſted! How noble, in compariſon of this furious bigotry, was the behaviour of the Emperor *Charles* V. who, when he had taken the town of *Wittemberg*, in which the body of that hereſiarch *Luther* was buried, not only reſiſted the importunities of the bigots around him, to dig up his body and burn it; but alſo protected it from their inſults; and ſilenced their clamours by this chriſtian, generous reply, Let him alone, let him reſt to the day of the reſurrection, and the judgment of all men [1]!

1 *Hernſchmidii Vit. Luth.* p. 252. *Adamus*, p. 162.

A veil

A veil is thrown upon theſe actions of *Pole* which I have been relating, in the panegyrical narration before us: and others of the ſame tendency are ſlurred over with this apology, that they were *the reſult of his deference to the laws and conſtitutions of his country, which did not allow him to ſtrain the tender ſtrings of government, nor exert an undue authority on any pretext whatever* (p. 132). Whereas *Pole*, by the general powers given him for reconciling the nation to the church of *Rome*, was inveſted with a plenitude of authority over temporal, as well as eccleſiaſtical courts: he had it therefore in his power to be as mild and merciful as he pleaſed. But he had ſo terrible a notion of hereſy, that he ſeemed to look upon it as an unpardonable crime: it was this prevailing bias, which led him to ſome ill-natured and harſh ſeverities againſt the poor ſufferers for religion, at the time of their execution; and to ſome uncharitable reflections upon their fortitude under it. Thus he writes to a nameleſs biſhop; "that "ſome of the heretics did as much harm to "the people by their deaths as by their lives: "a preacher therefore, he ſays, ſhould be pro- "vided againſt the time of their ſufferings, "who ſhould declare the occaſion of their "death, their wicked life and obſtinacy, and "the pains taken to bring them to repent- "ance: . . . that by theſe means an act of "compaſſion may to the laſt be offered to the "heretics, and the people reſcued from the

"danger

"danger of that offence, they ſo eaſily fall "into, when, without a preacher to declare "this, they only ſee the conſtancy of a wretch- "ed perſon in ſuffering torment, and do not "perceive, under this falſe appearance of pie- "ty and reſolution, the power and cunning "of the Devil[1]." Thus he alſo writes to King *Philip*; and informs him, that Father *Soto* had been with the two condemned he- retics at *Oxford*, (*Ridley* and *Latimer* he means) one of whom would not ſo much as ſpeak to him; that with the other he had ſome con- verſation, but to no effect: by which, ſaith the mild and chriſtian *Pole*, it is manifeſt that no one can ſave thoſe whom God hath re- jected, and therefore (he adds,) they ſay the people beheld their execution with pleaſure, when they underſtood that nothing was omit- ted which could contribute to their Salva- tion[2].

The *patriot* ſpirit of *Pole* would have been ſignally diſplayed; if he had either reſtrained, or remonſtrated againſt theſe rigours: inſtead of that, he encouraged them; he did not in- deed condemn any himſelf to the ſtake; but his officers did it for him. His ſuffragan, and his archdeacon, are ſaid to have poured out blood like water[3]; and one of the laſt acts of authority he was concerned in, was to de-

1 *Quirini*, v. 5. *Ep. Poli Epiſcopo . . . . p.* 88.
2 *Id. ib. Ep. Poli Philippo regi, p.* 47.
3 *Heylin*, p, 56. *Fuller's* Church hiſt. b. 8, p. 18.

liver

liver over five heretics, whom they had condemned, to the civil magiſtrate for execution: in conſequence of this, they were burnt at *Canterbury* about a week before his death. Two or three inſtances are, indeed, recorded of his clemency; but they cannot clear him from the guilt of that blood, which was ſhed by commiſſions immediately granted by him; when he had it in his power to have mitigated theſe ſeverities, if his inclination to ſpare and to ſave had been as great as his authority.

We find alſo as few traces of patriotiſm in the cardinal, either as an Engliſhman or a ſtateſman. He was the principal inſtrument to reduce this church and kingdom to the ſlavery of that ſpiritual tyrant, againſt whoſe enormous exorbitances, the free ſpirit of our anceſtors had from time to time made ſuch public and parliamentary remonſtrances. As a ſtateſman, he was always devoted to the *Spaniſh* faction, was made a cardinal by the Emperor's ſolicitation, and ſupported by his intereſt and influence in the conteſt for the papacy. At his return into *England*, he was obſerved to have adopted the reſerve and ſtatelineſs of his foreign acquaintance, to converſe almoſt entirely with them, and to have very little connection with his own countrymen. He might, indeed, have put in his *claim to the title of a patriot* (p. 230); if, like his much injured predeceſſor, he had oppoſed all councils prejudicial to the honour of his country,

try, and had behaved with the ſame open firmneſs. as *Cranmer* did upon every occaſion. We ſhould then have heard, of his diſſuading thoſe miniſterial meaſures which prevailed whilſt *he was at the head of the council* (p. 232,) and were not only detrimental to the intereſt of the kingdom, but alſo contrary to all the principles of humanity, and in direct violation of the laws of chriſtianity. Nothing like this is related of him: he acquieſced in every thing: and even *in religious matters, which were more peculiarly his department*, he *ſuffered rigours to be exerciſed* (p. 232) which he entirely diſapproved of. He cannot, therefore, in any reſpect, be conſidered as a *patriot*; but as one whoſe indolence and timidity rendered him the tool of others, who were more violent, ambitious and deſigning, than himſelf.

A juſt regard to the truth of hiſtory has conſtrained us thus to cenſure the actions of cardinal *Pole*. But notwithſtanding this; we are not blind to his real merits; the excellency of his morals, the natural goodneſs of his heart, and the piety of his diſpoſition, are chearfully confeſſed; his behaviour in his laſt moments ſhewed, that his religion, though ill-directed, was ſincere and genuine. It is with pleaſure we can take our leave of him by a fair and favorable acknowledgment of his virtue and piety. We are ſorry to think, ſo well meaning and ſo good a man ſhould labour under ſuch inveterate prejudices: and that, to ſpare his character, thoſe allowances

muſt

muſt be made for his conduct, which he, with all his lenity and good nature, knew not how to grant to any who differed from him.

His good name and reputation have hitherto been tenderly treated: his biographer hath occaſioned them to be more minutely examined. How they will bear this enquiry, let him look to it, who hath thus diſturbed his aſhes, and made the elogium of his hero the vehicle of ſcornfully traducing the religion of his country, of inſulting the memory of thoſe worthies who are ſo juſtly dear to it, and of recommending thoſe horrid intolerant principles, which enforced the naturally mild and eaſy *Pole* to become an inquiſitor and a perſecutor. —— The cruelties, however, which were ſo wantonly exerciſed by him and others, in their day of power, have been attended with many providentially good effects, which are ſtill felt amongſt us: they diſcovered the true ſanguinary ſpirit of popery; they promoted the cauſe of the reformation, and excited in our anceſtors, the utmoſt indignation againſt and contempt for that religion, which took inhuman methods to preſerve its eſtabliſhment. The blood of the martyrs proved the ſeed of the proteſtant church: many, who in the beginning of *Mary's* reign were rigid papiſts, were converted by the cruel executions, and patient ſufferings of thoſe whom they ſaw condemned to the flames for no crime; but only for conſcience ſake: and ſome made an atonement for their former

blindneſs and ſuperſtition, and died in defence of that religion they had before oppoſed. By theſe means, to uſe the words of the venerable, expiring *Latimer*, ſuch a candle was lighted in *England*, as, we truſt, by God's grace ſhall never be extinguiſhed.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Some remarks upon Mr. *Phillips's* hiſtory, *&c.* communicated by the Reverend Dr. *Jortin.*

Reverend Sir,

THE *Life of Pole*, by Mr. *Phillips*, is a performance which, in my opinion, forebodes no evil at all to our Church and State: yet it deſerves to be examined and confuted. Such ſort of Writers have given occaſion to excellent anſwers, and furniſhed materials for the *Stillingfleets*, the *Tillotſons*, *&c.*

Much ſuch a work as this, in ſome reſpects, was *The Life of Wolſey*, written at a critical time by our *Fiddes* a *Proteſtant-Papiſt* (the expreſſion is as proper at leaſt as *Roman-Catholic*) to prepare us for Popery and the Pretender; a Book which had no other effect than to expoſe the Author and his Patrons.

The invectives of Mr. *P.* againſt *Eraſmus*, with whoſe works he ſeems to be entirely unacquainted, and whom he repreſents as a wretch void of all religion, are the ſcum and dregs of the accuſations which Blockheads, Bigots, Fanatics, and Hypocrites have plentifully thrown out.

There are writers of the *Romiſh* Communion, who have treated *Eraſmus* with decency and candor, as *Thuanus*, *Du Pin*, *Richard*, *Marſollier*, *&c.* But Mr. *P.* chuſes rather to aſſociate himſelf with the other *Fraternity*; and it is fit that he ſhould have his choice.

Amongſt the Articles recommended by him to our belief, are theſe;

The ſanctity of *Thomas Becket*, and the numerous miracles wrought by his Reliques, which according to *Boſſuet*, are ſo well atteſted as to exclude all doubt; and then for the character of *Boſſuet*, we are referred to Lord *Bolingbroke*, that incomparable judge of literary and theological merit:

The authority of our countryman *Sanders*, a man ſo famous for *veracity*, that if Captain *Lemuel Gulliver* had not ſupplanted him, we might uſe the proverbial phraſe, *It is true as if Sanders had ſaid it:*

The merits of *Ignatius Loyola*, whom his unkind contemporaries left to ramble about at large; though it is to be supposed that in those days, as well as in these, there were houses fitted up for the reception of such as he:

The inspiration of the *Fathers at Trent*; on which article of faith we will meet him half-way; for we all allow them to have been inspired —— by his Holiness.

Pref. p. ix. "*Dudithius*, Bishop of *Tune*."

He was Bishop of *Knin (Tininium)* in *Croatia*.

P. 98. "*Bunet*.

So he calls *Bunellus*, famous for his pure latinity.

P. 259, 260. "The *Lutherans* insisted upon changes in religion, which, as *Procopius* a Pagan writer observes, on account "of the *absolute singleness* of its system, admits of none."

In the margin he puts, *simplex & absoluta*.

This curious piece of erudition deserves singular notice.

He calls *Procopius* a Pagan. He should not have ventured out of his depth, and passed his judgment upon an Author of whom he knows just nothing at all.

La Motthe Le Vayer, *Eichelius*, *Alemannus*, and *Cave* have suspected *Procopius* of Paganism, or of Atheism; but he hath been defended by *Cousin*, his *French* Translator, and by *Fabricius*, *Bibl. Gr.* VI. 248. More may be said in his behalf than they have urged; and I will at any time undertake to prove that the arguments produced in support of this heavy charge against him are altogether inconclusive.

Mr. *P.* gives us *simplex & absoluta* as the words of *Procopius*; whence we may collect that he takes him for a *Latin* writer. I can assure him that *Procopius* wrote in *Greek*. If he will not believe me, he may ask his Bookseller.

But unfortunately, these words, wheresoever he picked them up, are not the words of *Procopius:* they are the property of another author, a *Latin* Historian and a Pagan, of *Ammianus Marcellinus*; and so little do they serve the purposes of Popery, that he ought by no means to have produced them, and helped himself to a slap on the face.

Marcellinus blames the Emperor *Constantius* for having made himself the Head of a Party, in the theological Squabbles of those days, instead of quieting the combatants; and observes that the Christians, by their frivolous contentions, and false refinements, darkened and perplexed a Religion which in itself was *complete and simple*. He adds that the public Revenues suffered not a little by supplying the Prelates with Post-Chaises for their everlasting journeys to their Synods and Councils.

"Constantius *Christianam religionem* absolutam & simplicem *anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam* com-

componenda gravius, excitavit diſſidia plurima, quæ progreſſa fuſius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis Antiſtitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque diſcurrentibus, per Synodos *quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad ſuum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehicularie ſuccideret nervos.*" XXI. 16.

The ſame honeſt Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of a worthleſs Prelate, ſays that he did not learn his practice from his religion, —— *quæ nihil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene.* XXII. 11.

Significant words, which for the benefit of ſome people we will explain; —— A religion which allows no ſham-miracles, no pious frauds and forgeries, no compulſion of conſcience, no Inquiſitions, no racks and tortures to ſtretch a ſcanty faith to a proper length, no violation of ſafe-conducts, no godly maſſacres, no burning of heretics, no doing to others what we would not that they ſhould do to us.

What would this Author have ſaid to the *perfect ſimplicity* of the *Papal* Syſtem, and of the decrees of the Council of *Trent?*

"*The Lutherans*, quoth he, inſiſted upon changes in religion." Changes in *Popery*, if you pleaſe. The *Lutherans* wanted to aboliſh all changes and innovations, and to reſtore Chriſtianity, as nearly as they could, to its original ſtate. For example; they deſired to have the Communion adminiſtred in both kinds, which had been the known practice of the Church for the firſt thouſand years; and multitudes of *Romaniſts*, to do them juſtice, earneſtly deſired the ſame. But the Court of *Rome* and its Creatures would not conſent.

If they had fully and freely granted the Cup to the Laity, and marriage to the Clergy, it might have been an ugly blow to *Lutheraniſm:* but by refuſing to give up any thing, how abſurd ſoever, and by attempting to prevail with the help of their old ſupporters, *Fire* and *Fagot*, they effectually eſtabliſhed the Reformation.

Since that revolution, the Pope is the ſhadow of what he once was; he is *Lucan's Oak*;

——— Stat magni nominis Umbra,
Qualis frugifero quercus ſublimis in agro,
Exuvias veteres populi, ſacrataque geſtans
Dona ducum; nec jam validis radicibus hærens,
Pondere fixa ſuo eſt; nudoſque per æra ramos
Effundens, trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram.
I. 135.

P. 251. "*Pole* put the Emperor in mind of *Joſias*, whoſe "naval force was deſtroyed, and who was told by a Prophet; "becauſe thou haſt entered into a league with a man who has "done ſo many ungodly actions, therefore God has deſtroyed "thy fleet."

Pole

Pole and his Panegyriſt (to borrow a phraſe from *Shakeſpear*) had not *prayed their Pible well.* For *Joſias* had no fleet to loſe: it was *Jehoſaphat.* 2 *Chron.* xx. 35 — 37.

An *Engliſh* Papiſt, writing with a view to excite in us a favourable opinion of himſelf and his party, undertakes a difficult task, which requires ſingular qualifications. He ſhould ſhew in his works a ſpirit of moderation, candor, ingenuity, ſincerity, fairneſs, impartiality, humanity and charity. *France* hath produced ſome Authors of that communion, who have ſome kind of claim to this character: but hardly ſhall you find ſuch amongſt the Papiſts of *England, Ireland, Flanders, Spain, Portugal,* and *Italy.* He ſhould alſo have a tolerable ſhare of learning and knowledge, and not be a mere borrower from others, and a Brother of the Religious order of *Mendicants.*

GIVE me leave, Sir, to take the opportunity of concluding theſe pages with a remark upon myſelf.

In the ſecond Volume of the Life of *Eraſmus*, p. 140 I gave a ſpecimen of the pronunciation of the *modern Greeks*, in which there is a miſtake, which I overlooked, till it was too late to rectify it, It is in the diphthong ευ, which is not ſounded by them like εφ, but like the *Latin* vowel *u.* The lines from *Homer* ſhould therefore be written thus, putting the *Latin u* for the ευ.

Μινιν αϊδε Θεα Πηληϊαδεω Αχιλῆος
Ουλομενην, ἡ μυρι' Αχαιοις αλγε' ἐθηκε,
Πολλας δ' ἰφθιμους ψυχας αϊδι προϊαψεν, &c.

JOHN JORTIN.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER II.

A Letter from the Princeſs ELIZABETH to Queen MARY, referred to p. 461. and 485.

The Author was miſtaken in ſaying [*p.* 485.] *that the original* of this letter is extant in the *Britiſh Muſæum*, whereas it is found in the Paper-Office, as he has been ſince informed by Dr. *Birch*.

IF any ever did try this olde ſaynge, that a Kinge's worde was more than another man's othe, I moſt humbly beſeche your M. to verefie it in me, and to remember your laſt promis, and my laſt demaunde, that I be not condemned without anſwer and due profe, wiche it ſemes, that now I am; for that without cauſe provid, I am by your counſel frome you commanded to go unto the *Tower*, a place more wonted for a falſe Traitor, than a tru ſubject, wich, thogth, I know, I deſerve it not, yet in the face of al this Realme aperes, that it is provid; wiche I pray God I may dy the ſhamefullift deth, that ever any died, afore I may mene any ſuche thinge; and to this preſent hower I proteſt afor God (who ſhal juge my trueth) what ſoever malice ſhal deviſe) that I never practiſed, conciled, nor conſentid to any thinge, that might be prejudicial to your parſon any way, or daungerous to the State by any mene; and therfor I humbly beſeche your Majeſtie to let me anſwer afore your Selfe, and not ſuffer me to truſt your counſelors; yea and that afore I go to the *Tower* (if it be poſſible) if not afor I be further condemned, howbeit I truſt aſſuredly your Highnes wyl give me leve to do it afor I go; for that thus ſhamefully I may not be cried out on, as now I ſhal be; yea and without cauſe let conſciens move your highnes to take ſome bettar way with me, than to make me be condemned in al men's ſigth afore my deſert knowen. Alſo I moſt humbly beſeche your Higthnes to pardon this my boldnes, wiche innocency procures me to do, togither with hope of your natural kindnis, wiche I truſt wyl not ſeme caſt away without deſart; wiche what it is, I wold deſire no more of God, but that you truly knew: wiche thinge I thinke and beleve you ſhal never by report knowe, unles by your Selfe you hire. I have harde in my time of many caſt away for want of commynge to the preſence of their Prince; and in late days I harde my Lorde of *Somerſet* ſay, that if his Brother had bine ſuffered to ſpeke with him, he had never ſufferd: but the preſwaſions

ſwaſions wer made to him ſo gret, that he was brogth in beleſe, that he coulde not live ſafely, if the admiral livéd; and that made him give his conſent to his Dethe. Thogth Thes parſons ar not to be compared to your Majeſtie, yet I pray God as ivel perſwations perſwade not one Siſtar againſt the other, and al for that the have harde falſe report, and not harkene to the trueth knowen. Therfor ons again kniling with humblenes of of my hart, bicauſe I am not ſuſſerd to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to ſpeke with your higthnis, wiche I wolde not be ſo bold to deſire, if I knewe not my ſelfe moſt clere, as I knowe my ſelfe moſt tru. And as for the Traitor *Wiat*, he migth paraventur writ me a lettar; but on my faithe I never receved any from him; and as for the copie of my letter ſent to the *Freuche* Kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I ſent him word, meſſage, token or letter, by any menes; and to this my truith I wil ſtande in to my Dethe.

I humbly crave but only one worde
of anſwer from your Selfe.

Your Highnes moſt faithful Subject,
that hathe bine from the beginninge, and wyl be to my end,

ELIZABETH.

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